The Cult of St Anna in Byzantium

Eirini Panou

BIRMINGHAM BYZANTINE AND OTTOMAN STUDIES

The Cult of St Anna in Byzantium

The Cult of St Anna in Byzantium is the first undertaking in Byzantine research to study the phenomenon of St Anna's cult from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries. It was prompted by the need to enrich our knowledge of a female saint who had already been studied in the West but remained virtually unknown in Eastern Christendom. It focuses on a figure little-studied in scholarship and examines the formation, establishment and promotion of an apocryphal saint who made her way to the pantheon of Orthodox saints. Visual and material culture, relics and texts track the gradual social and ideological transformation of Byzantium from early Christianity until the fifteenth century. This book not only examines various aspects of early Christian and Byzantine civilisation, but also investigates how the cult of saints greatly influenced cultural changes in order to suit theological, social and political demands.

The cult of St Anna influenced many diverse elements of Christian life in Constantinople, including the creation of sacred spaces and the location of haghiasmata (fountains of holy water) in the city; imperial patronage; the social reception of St Anna's story; and relic narratives. This monograph breaks new ground in explaining how and why Byzantium and the Orthodox Church attributed scriptural authority to a minor figure known only from a non-canonical work.

Dr. Eirini Panou studied art and archaeology at the National Kapodistrian University of Athens and earned her Ph.D. in Byzantine Studies from the University of Birmingham (2012). After the completion of her post-doctoral research at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Israel) in 2015, she became adjunct faculty at the Open University of Patras and Cyprus teaching Byzantine art and Byzantine public and private life. She is also research associate of the National Research Centre in Athens. She has produced articles on the cult of saints in Byzantium, on art, on female patronage, on magic, on theology, on the *Protevagelion of James*, and on Byzantine history.

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Abbreviations

AASS	Acta Sanctorum
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ABull	The *Art Bulletin*
ActaIRNorv	*Acta Ad Archaeologiam Et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*
AD	*Arhaiologikon Deltion*
AEM	Archeion Euboikon Meleton
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
AπB	Apostolos Varnavas
Aram	Journal of the Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BMNV	Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie
BurM	*Burlington Magazine (for connossieurs)*
Byz	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études Byzantines
Byzantina	Byzantina annual review of the Byzantine Research centre, Aristotle University of Thessalonikē
ByzF	Byzantinische Forschungen
CahArch	*Cahiers archéologiques*
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CHBS	Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae
CIAP	Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae
CMP	Alvarez Campos (ed.), Corpus Marianum patristicum (8 vols, Burgos: Ediciones Aldecoa, S. A. 1970–1985)
Cosmos	The journal of The Traditional Cosmology Society
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances del' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DACL	Fernand Cabrol and Henri *Leclercq* (eds), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (15 vols, Paris)
D.C.A.E.	Deltion Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias
DSAM	Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire

DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EHR	English Historical Review
EO	Echos d'Orient
Gesta	Gesta: International Center of Medieval Art
GRBS	Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies
JCoptS	*Journal of Coptic Studies*
JGS	Journal of Glass Studies
JOAI	*Jahreshefte des Osterreichischen* Archaologischen Instituts in *Wien*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichische Byzantinistik*
JS	*Journal des Savants*
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
KC	*Kretika Chronika*
LA	Liber Annus
Lampe	Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, *A patristic Greek lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).
LChrI	Engelbert Kirschbaum et al. (eds), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (8 vols, Rome: Herder, 1973), vol. 5.
LCI	Hans Aurenhammer (ed.), *Lexikon de christlichen Ikonographie* (6 vols,Wien:Brüder Hollinek, 1959), vol. 1.
MonPiot	Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot
MS	Mediaeval Studies
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph
NapNob	Napoli nobilissima
Numen	Numen: International Review for the History of Religions
OC	Oriens christianus
Orientalia	Orientalia: Commentarii periodici de rebus Oriens Antiqui
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PG	Jacques-PaulMigne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graeca* (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1857–1886)
PL	Jacques-PaulMigne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus, Series Latina* (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1844–1855, 1862–1865)
PMZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
PO	René Graffin [et al.] (eds), Patrologia Orientalis (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1903–).
RB	Revue Biblique
REB	Revue des études Byzantines
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte
Speculum	Speculum: a Journal of Medieval Studies
SubsHag	Subsidia hagiographica
SVTQ	St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly
Symmeikta	Byzantina Symmeikta
Syria	*Syria: Revue* d'art Oriental et d' archéologie

TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
Thesaurismata	Thesaurismata: tou Ellēnikou Institoutou Vyzantinon kai Metavyzantinon Spoudon
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
VChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins
Zograf	Zograf: časopis za srednjovekovnu umetnost
ZRVI	Sbornik Radova Vizantološkog instituta

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Introduction

The thirteenth-century court official Theodore Hyrtakenos, in his praise of *The Paradise of St Anna*, wonders who does not know the 'pious' and 'full of grace' Joachim and Anna, a 'truly holy couple'.[1] In his fourteenth-century homily on the Entry of Mary into the temple, Gregory Palamas writes that '[s]he (= Mary) exalted her ancestors to such glory that through her they are acclaimed God's ancestors'.[2] These two phrases highlight the widespread veneration of Mary's parents, and the nature of that veneration, in Byzantium.[3] Five centuries before Gregory Palamas's homily was written, George of Nikomedia, on the feast of Mary's conception by St Anna, tells his congregation the story of Mary's parents in detail, examining the reasons why they should be honoured. By the fourteenth century, on the same occasion, their story had become so well known to his congregation that Gregory needed neither repeat it nor even mention Anna and Joachim's names.

This study examines the conditions under which Mary's parents, and St Anna in particular, rose from obscurity to being objects of veneration, and how an apocryphal story came to be included in the liturgical calendar. It aims to fill a scholarly gap acknowledged by Sharon Gerstel, who noted that no study has been made of St Anna's place in Byzantium, unlike in the West.[4] Gerstel's article appeared in 1998, six years after the publication of the revised edition of Lafontaine-Dosogne's 1992 work on the iconography of the first three years of Mary's life.[5] In her corpus, Lafontaine-Dosogne provides a good overview of the textual references pertaining to Mary's parents, which have mainly to do with the introduction of the feasts related to Mary's childhood, and then discusses the representations of Mary's parents. Although Anna's veneration is defined by that of her daughter, I do not wish to provide another study on Mary, but rather to address an aspect of her veneration that has rarely been considered, which is her parents.

In order to examine the veneration of Anna in Byzantium, in the first chapter I will look at topographical and textual evidence from Jerusalem and Constantinople which demonstrates the influence of the topography of the Holy City on the Byzantine capital in the sixth century. I will examine the way in which this influence was interpreted in the churches of St Anna in Constantinople and the importance of this development for the ideology that governed church construction in Byzantium. I will argue that the creation of sacred space is an important factor for the first ecclesiastical establishments of the saint in Constantinople, and is far from being a simple case of patronage.

In the second chapter, I will consider the texts. Using mainly hagiography and histories, I will explore the ideological significance attributed to women named Anna, the most common of which was Iconophilia, support for the veneration of icons in general. St Anna's acknowledgment as the mother of the Virgin led to her being established as a protector of childbirth, a tendency reflected in the lives of saints whose mothers are named Anna and also in patronage stories about Byzantine empresses. Moreover, I will piece together the traditions around the relics of St Anna in Byzantium using textual evidence from the eighth to the seventeenth century. I will show that, even though the information provided in these sources is often unclear, I can name with certainty a number of locations where the relics of the saint actually appeared. Finally, I will examine the establishment of the feasts that celebrate the early life of Mary, and Mary's parents in particular.

The third chapter is dedicated to pictorial evidence. Having set the chronological limits between the eighth and the fifteenth centuries, I will examine the depictions of St Anna and Joachim outside the Mariological cycle, since the Marian cycle does not always reflect veneration of Mary's parents. The non-narrative portraits of Joachim and Anna do however, and they allow various associations to be made with them. The depictions are presented chronologically, but when the material in one location is extensive, a geographical or thematic categorization is made. This division has two aims: firstly, to highlight the alterations that depictions of the saints underwent over time, both in form and context, and secondly – in areas where the depictions are numerous and vary in nature, such as in Cappadocia and Greece – to place the depictions into a theological and social framework. As the role of this work is to understand the formation of the saint's cult in Byzantium, I have selected images which are less well-known and, in most cases, published for the first time.[6]

This study is the first attempt in Byzantine scholarship to focus on St Anna in Byzantium on this scale. Despite the number of studies of Mary that have appeared, especially after the publication of the *Mother of God* exhibition catalogue at the Benaki Museum (Greece) in 2001, Mary's parents have not become the subject of detailed treatment by students of Byzantine culture. The only large-scale attempt thus far was Kleinschmidt's *Die heilige Anne: ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum*, published in 1930, but even this work deals primarily with the saint's cult in the West. The aim of the present work is to demonstrate that although the spread of Anna and Joachim's veneration was minor compared to that of their daughter, a thorough study on their cult offers important insight into the culture from which they emerged and in which they were established.

Notes

1 Jean François Boissonade (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis* (reprint of the Paris edition, 1829–1844) (3 vols, Hildesheim, 1962), vol. 3, p. 12. For a translation of St Anna's description of her garden, see Mary-Lyon Dolezal and Maria Mavroude, 'Theodore Hyrtakenos' Description of the Garden of St. Anna and the Ekphrasis of Gardens', in Antony Littlewood and Henry Maguire and Joachim Wolschke-Buhlmann (eds.), *Byzantine Garden Culture* (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 105–158.

2 ‘πρὸς τοσοῦτον κλέος ἐξῆρε τοὺς προγόνους, ὡς καὶ θεοπάτορας ἀκούειν δι᾽ αὐτήν’, see Panagiotes Christou (ed.), *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ. Ἅπαντα τὰ ἔργα* (11 vols, Thessalonike, 2009), vol. 11, p. 268; Christopher Veniamin (trans.), *Mary the Mother of God: Sermons by Saint Gregory Palamas* (Dalton, PA, 2005), p. 19.

3 Robert Edward Sinkewicz, ‘Gregory Palamas’, in Carmelo Giuseppe Conticello and Vassa Conticello (eds.), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition* (Turnhout, 2002), vol. 2, p. 131. For Gregory’s life and works, see ibid., pp. 131–188.

4 Sharon Gerstel, ‘Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium’, *DOP*, 52 (1998): pp. 89–111. For extensive bibliography on the cult of Saint Anna in the West, see Virginia Nixon, *Mary’s Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park, PA, 2004). For short references to the cult of the saint in the West, see Peter Murray and Linda Murray (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford and New York, 1998) (under ‘Anna’); Marcel Viller, ‘Anne (sainte)’, in *DSAM* (17 vols, Paris, 1937), vol. 1, pp. 672–673; Elena Croce, ‘Anna, madre di Maria Vergine’, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1961), vol. 1, pp. 1269–1295; Remigius Bäumer and Leo Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon* (6 vols, St. Ottilien, 1989), vol. 2, p. 602; Leclercq however [Henri Leclercq, ‘Sainte Anne’, in *DACL* (30 vols, Paris, 1907), vol. 2, pp. 2162–2174] dealt primarily with cult of the saint in the East.

5 Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l’enfance de la Vierge dans l’Empire byzantin et en Occident* (2 vols, Bruxelles, 1992), vol. 1.

6 Special thanks should be attributed to Angeliki Lymberopoulou of the Open University in Milton Keynes, who very kindly allowed me to use some of her unpublished material in this book.

1 The emergence of the cult of St Anna in Jerusalem and Constantinople

After the empress Theodora, wife of Justinian I, had been cured in the church of *ta Kyrou*, the imperial couple thanked the Virgin 'with luxurious offerings and, although they did not construct a new church in her honour, they dedicated a church next to it to St Anna, the grandmother of Christ'.[1] The twelfth-century addendum to the Constantinopolitan calendar of Iviron Monastery, which relates to the construction of the *ta Kyrou* church of the Virgin in Constantinople, reveals that a tradition created around Justinian I had by the twelfth century become associated with the cure of his wife by the Theotokos (Mother of God). It also informs us that the imperial couple dedicated a church to St Anna next to an existing church of Mary as an act of thanksgiving for the cure. How is one to deconstruct the elements of this tradition and how important is this testimony for the imperial patronage of the cult of St Anna in Constantinople at that time?

In this chapter it will be shown that the Virgin's healing powers, combined with the promotion of her cult by Justinian I and with the sixth-century architectural trend of the *loumata* (holy springs), created a model whereby a church of St Anna was placed in the proximity of a healing *locus* dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This trend is seen in church topography particularly after Justinian I and is the result of a parallel development in Jerusalem and Constantinople already noted in the sixth century. In Jerusalem and in particular at the Probatic Pool (in the modern Islamic quarter), a church had been dedicated to the Virgin Mary at the spot where in 570 the pilgrim Antonios located the place of her birth. In Constantinople, Justinian I built a church dedicated to St Anna in the quarter of the Deuteron and with this began the association of the Virgin's mother with healing powers. But how do these developments contribute to the formation of the cult of St Anna in Byzantium?

The Probatike and fifth-century ecclesiastical politics in Jerusalem

A church by the Probatic Pool,[2] which dates to the fifth century,[3] was dedicated to the miracle of the Paralytic, the biblical narrative known from *St John's Gospel* (John 5:2).[4] However, the earliest textual evidence for the church dates to the sixth century, when John Rufos wrote his *Plerophories* (512–518).[5] In this work, John Rufos describes the sojourn of the fifth-century bishop of Maiouma,[6] Peter the Iberian,[7] in the Holy Land.

The church is mentioned in the context of a dream that a cleric in the church of the Probatike had, in which Christ appeared to recall the name of Juvenal, Monophysite bishop of Jerusalem from 422,[8] who accepted the decrees of the council of Chalcedon in 451. This was the reason that the Monophysite monks in Palestine rebelled, causing his deposition.[9] According to John Rufos, the cleric did not take care of the sanctuary of the Probatike (we are not told whether at that time the church was still dedicated to the Paralytic or elsewhere) and so Christ appeared in his dream saying:

> What shall I do with these, with those upon whom I have bestowed such good things, both oil, wine, and the other necessities (of life)? Never are they in want of anything that thus they would have a reason to disregard and to neglect my service. Woe, Juvenal! He made my house a cave of robbers. He has filled it with fornicators, adulterers, and polluted ones.[10]

The words 'polluted' and 'adulterers' allude to Juvenal's conversion from Monophysitism to Chalcedonianism, since the *Plerophories* presents the Monophysitic point of view on fifth-century ecclesiastical politics. As Csepregi notes in her discussion of the 'ritual of temple sleep' (sleeping inside the sanctuary and encountering the healer in a dream) experienced by the priest of the Probatike, the central role of this direct contact with the sacred place resulted 'in the adoption of ancient sites by the Christian healer saints'.[11] In the Probatike, the appropriation of Christian sites is shown by the dedication to the Healing of the Paralytic of a building which, until then, had been used for pagan worship and Jewish purification practices. That the monument was associated with the inter-Christian conflict between the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians is shown in the following facts: firstly, that healer saints appear in dreams 'lecturing' the Monophysites;[12] secondly, that in a dream the Monophysite John Rufos attributes to the Chalcedonians the neglect of healing sites associated with the life of Christ; and thirdly, in the reference to Patriarch Juvenal. Juvenal was well known to the Byzantine court. He reassumed his office with imperial support and shortly before his deposition in 451 the imperial couple Markianos and Pulcheria allegedly asked him to surrender the body of the Theotokos to the Byzantine capital, which was placed in the church of the Blachernai in Constantinople.[13] Mango considers the idea that Pulcheria made such a request to be completely unfounded because '[c]ould the pious Pulcheria have really wished to possess the Virgin Mary *corporaliter*? Was she ignorant of the absence of such a relic?'[14] Similarly, Shoemaker accepts the story's lack of historicity because 'the royal couple might have had some knowledge of the traditions concerning the removal of Mary's body from this world'.[15] The story is included in the *History of Euthymios*, which dates back to the period 550–750[16] and was preserved by John of Damaskos (675–753/4) in his second homily on Mary's Dormition.[17] Juvenal's link with Constantinople, his reputation as the Patriarch who surrendered the relics of Mary to the Byzantine emperor and his building activity in Jerusalem are the reasons he is included in this study. To be precise, he may have been associated either with the construction of the church of the

Paralytic or with its dedication to the Virgin, which had taken place sometime before 530, as shown below. Juvenal's intervention in the ecclesiastical affairs of Jerusalem before he became Patriarch is recorded in two post fifth-century sources, the already mentioned Chalcedonian *History of Euthymios* and the anti-Chalcedonian *Panegyric of Bishop Makarios of Tkōw* composed by Pseudo-Dioskoros, probably in the early sixth century.[18] The *History of Euthymio*s refers to Juvenal's attack with troops on the 'shrine of the holy Mary in the valley of Josaphat' (the tomb of the Virgin in Gethsemane).[19] The *Panegyric of Bishop Makarios of Tkōw* also refers to the same event.[20] Lourié asserts that it was between the alleged transfer of the relics in 453 and Pulcheria's death later the same year that the story linking Pulcheria with the foundation of the Blachernai emerged as an aspect of Chalcedonian propaganda and both Pulcheria and Juvenal became Chalcedonian saints.[21] The account of the dream in the *Plerophories* indicates that Juvenal may have been involved in the construction of the church of the Paralytic or in its dedication to Mary, and in this context Rufos's choice to use this monument as the location of his narrative was not accidental. The *Plerophories* was written between 512 and 518, and a few years later the pilgrim Theodosios (530) wrote on the Probatike: 'Next to the Sheep-pool is the church of my Lady Mary'.[22] If for a minute we accept Juvenal's church commission at the Probatike and place it in the Monophysite-Chalcedonian conflict, as the *Plerophories* do, then it is plausible that the construction of a church to honour the Theotokos served as a public demonstration of his Chalcedonian beliefs. Avner stresses Juvenal's significant role in the development of the Marian cult in Jerusalem and sees the Kathisma (see below) as a victory over Nestorianism, upon the return of Juvenal from the Council of Ephesos.[23] More specifically, the scholar believes that the

> fact that his name is associated by Theodoros of Petra and Cyril of Skythopolis with the foundation of the Kathisma, the fact that the Kathisma church (like any other) must have been consecrated by a bishop, and the fact that his name is mentioned in association with the cult of the Virgin Mary in three unrelated sources (the Euthymian History, the *Plerophoriae* by John Rufos and a panegyric of Makarios, Bishop of Tkôw) all indicate that Juvenal probably played a major role in the development of the Marian cult in Jerusalem. It also seems likely that he approved the growth in the number of sites and churches dedicated to her, including the Kathisma, a church near the Probatic Pool, and another church in her honour in Gethsemane.[24]

Lack of tangible evidence however prevents us from associating him with the original construction of Mary's church at the Probatike, because the earliest testimony corroborating the existence of this church is older than Rufos's story. Thus, although church politics and the growth of Marian piety, established in Mary's Kathisma,[25] could explain the construction of the church of Mary in the Probatike in the fifth century as being the result of Juvenal's activity, Theodosios's account shows that this was in fact a sixth-century development.

Figure 1.1 Inscription naming Amos as deacon of the church of the Probatike, fifth or sixth century

(Photo credit: author)

The *Plerophories* is included here, not for its historical accuracy concerning fifth-century ecclesiastical politics in Jerusalem, but because it testifies to Juvenal's strong pro-Chalcedonian feelings in a story which concerns an important fifth-century healing site in Jerusalem, the Probatike, and permits us to associate another

cleric, this time in Constantinople, with the same building. The fifth-century presbyter of Hagia Sophia, Markianos, seems, according to the tenth-century *Codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 242* published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, to have built a church associated with the cure of illness,[26] that of St Eirene in Constantinople, the porticoes of which had an arrangement similar to those of the Probatic Pool (four surrounding plus one in the middle creating two rectangulars), as the text says.[27] As to the importance of this Constantinopolitan church, Dagron considers the repeated references to St Eirene in the fifth-century *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates an indication that the church was the principal one of the Christian community of Constantinople in the fourth century. And since Socrates refers to the church of Hagia Sophia as being attached to that of St Eirene, it is probable that the tenth-century manuscript alludes to the 'antique' St Eirene in the second region and not to the 'new one' in the seventh region mentioned in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*.[28] This church is involved in the theological debate between the followers of Arian and the supporters of the canons of the Council of Nicaea (325).[29] Markianos, a converted Novatian,[30] transferred – similarly to Juvenal's relic transportation, which was however fictional – the relics of St Anastasia, a healer saint, to Constantinople. Apart from this story, Markianos's building activity in Constantinople is also recorded in another tenth-century work, the *Patria of Constantinople*.[31] In both cases, a fifth-century priest constructs a church dedicated to a healer saint, where the Probatike stands in the background. The stories are similar but they reflect different traditions in each city. John Rufos recorded Juvenal's activity in the context of fifth-century ecclesiastical politics in Jerusalem and Markianos's story expresses Constantinople's interest in healing sites in the tenth century, which had originated in the fifth century, and to which we will return when we discuss the emergence of *haghiasmata* in the Byzantine capital.

To summarize, the Probatic Pool was incorporated into the ecclesiastical debates of the fifth century and reveals not only the struggle of Christian communities to appropriate healing sites but also the importance of healing *loci*. The dream of the cleric of the Probatike demonstrates that the adoption of healing sites had become part of the agenda of the Chalcedonian-Monophysite controversy, in which the figure of Juvenal featured prominently. His reputation as a Patriarch who promoted the cult of the Virgin in Jerusalem does not credit him with the dedication of the church of the Paralytic to the Virgin, which had taken place by the beginning of the sixth century, but certainly shows a change in the sacred map of holy sites in Jerusalem. This new map included two basic elements: the growing cult of the Virgin and its appropriation of healing sites.

The church of Mary at the Probatike as Mary's birthplace

Pilgrims' accounts allude to a new development at the site of the Probatike over the course of the sixth century: its emergence as Mary's birthplace. The earliest testimony is that of Antonios (570), who refers to the Probatic pool and the basilica of Mary and adds that Mary was born in this location.[32] In modern times the spot is commemorated as the birthplace of the Virgin and the house of Joachim and Anna.

Before Antonios, and by the year 530, pilgrims had already referred to the church of Mary by the Probatic Pool. Theodosios, for example, writes: 'Next to the Sheep-pool is the church of my Lady Mary'.[33] Interested in healing sites,[34] the Piacenza pilgrim (circa 570) describes it as the 'pool with five porticoes' and writes that 'to one of the porticoes a basilica dedicated to St Mary was attached in which many miracles take place'.[35] The fact that Theodosios had not visited the sites he wrote about, but based his account on other sources or on the oral testimony provided by other travellers, as Avner has suggested,[36] is of importance here. He recorded not what he saw but a popular tradition of the time that associated Mary with the Probatike. Although Theodosios was not a first-hand witness, his account is revealing as we are not dealing here with actual sightseeing but with the perpetuation of an existing tradition about the nativity of Mary in sixth-century Jerusalem, reinforced by the testimonies of the Piacenza pilgrim and Antonios.[37] Notwithstanding these references, the association of Mary with healing in the Probatike as a result of the construction of the church actually goes back earlier than the sixth century. A fifth-century manuscript from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy.VIII 1151) refers to the prayer of a woman named Ioannina, who asks 'the God of the probatic pool' to cure her illness. Ioannina's supplication is then addressed, apart from the archangels and saints, to the Virgin.[38] Thus, already from the fifth century the Theotokos was considered a healer associated with this site. Much later, the homily of Pseudo-John of Damaskos on the Nativity of Mary connects the Virgin and healing with the Probatic Pool and repeats Piacenza's report of Mary's miracles in this place:

> Once a year you received a visit by the angel of God, who troubled the water, strengthening and healing one man from the illness that paralyzed him, whereas now you contain a multitude of heavenly powers who sing hymns with us to the Mother of God, the source of miracles [and] spring of universal healing.[39]

The association of Mary's healing qualities with the Probatic Pool and the fact that her nativity was recorded in the second-century *Protevangelion of James*, a very popular narrative,[40] not only facilitated Mary's appropriation of the Probatike but were also in accordance with the growing tendency to accommodate next to churches water sources that were used for cures.[41] Apart from the influence of the *Protevangelion*, the change in the sacred topography of the Marian monuments in the Holy Land is the result of a liturgical evolution. This is how Limor explains the fact that there were no sites associated with Mary in Jerusalem in the fourth century, but only after 530, with the report of the pilgrim Theodosios.[42] As for the Probatike in particular, it was in the seventh century that it became a station for liturgy on the Saturday of the sixth week of Lent,[43] and in the eighth century when Mary's Nativity was celebrated on the spot.[44] The association of Mary with the Probatic Pool belongs to the wider practice of identifying the places where Mary had spent her life, initiated in the course of the fifth century. Pullan attributes this tendency to interest in Christ's origins,[45] and Taylor notes that the tomb of Mary in Gethsemane was built in the fifth century to satisfy the expectations of pilgrims

familiar with apocryphal stories about the Dormition of Mary.[46] A further example of changes in the sacred map of the Holy City is the Kathisma church, which was built to commemorate the spot where the Virgin rested before giving birth to Christ, as the *Protevangelion of James* (17:2–3) records.[47] An incident from Mary's life known from apocryphal sources shows that non-canonical literature is used to establish the sacred map of Mary in the Holy Land from the fifth century onwards.

Changes in the associations of sites from the sixth century onwards reveal conceptions of spiritual cleansing at that time, which in the case of the Theotokos were expressed by constructing churches dedicated to her next to healing waters, a tendency which, as we will see, was cultivated in the Byzantine capital from the sixth century onwards. The church constructed in the Probatike, the Kathisma and possibly her tomb were all designated as popular Marian sites and reinforced by early Christian literature as important stations from Mary's life in the Holy Land.[48] It is safe to argue that during the sixth century the cult of Mary made considerable progress in the Holy Land, while positing an earlier date leads to contradictory conclusions.[49]

Apart from the testimonies of pilgrims, there is no textual information from the sixth century relating to the basilica of Mary in the Probatike. It is only after the partial destruction of the church by the Persians in 614, and its subsequent reconstruction or renovation, that one finds textual references to it again.[50] To be precise, in his *Anakreontikon*, Sophronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638/9),[51] mentions the Probatike as the place where Anna gave birth to Mary: 'I walk within the holy Probatike, where the most-famous Anna bore Mary'.[52] Following Sophronios, Pseudo-John of Damaskos exalts the Probatike and its role in the soteriological plan of God in his sermon on Mary's Nativity:

> Hail, sheep-pool, most holy precinct of the Mother of God! Hail, sheep-pool, ancestral abode of the queen! Hail, sheep-pool, which once was the enclosure for Joachim's sheep but now is the heaven-imitating Church of Christ's rational flock! Once a year you received a visit from the angel of God, who troubled the water, strengthening and healing one man from the illness that paralyzed him, whereas now you contain a multitude of heavenly powers who sing hymns with us to the Mother of God, the source of miracles [and] spring of universal healing.[53]

The words of Pseudo-John of Damaskos echo the healing qualities of the Probatic that were once attributed to its waters but were gradually incorporated into her cult, as the Oxyrhynchus manuscript reveals. In his *Exposition of Faith*, John of Damaskos includes a section *On the genealogy of the Lord and on the Holy Theotokos*, where he writes on the life of Joachim and Anna: 'Joachim married Anna; but like the old barren Anna who gave birth to Samuel through prayer, she [Mary's mother] gave birth to Mary through prayer'.[54] John of Damaskos continues: (Mary) 'is born in the house of Joachim in the Probatike and she is taken to the temple'.[55] Finally, in his treatise *How Many of the Venerated Buildings do we Find in the Scripture and in which Ways do we Venerate them* (included in his *Against Images*), John of Damaskos writes that the church of Mary in the Probatike (among others) should be worshipped not only because 'of its nature'

but because it constitutes a 'holy vessel of holy energy, which God placed for the process of human salvation'.[56] In other words the Probatike should be worshipped because it is the place where Anna and Joachim had Mary, who realized the soteriological plan for the salvation of humanity. The sentence 'of its nature' used by John of Damaskos to describe the Probatike should be understood in connection with the theological importance attached to a monument mentioned in *St John's Gospel* and then associated with the mother of Christ. Certain characteristics of the 'nature' of Marian monuments include their sanctity underlined by an already existing source of water and were highlighted by the sixth-century historian Prokopios in his description of the church of the Pege (= source, fountain) in Constantinople.[57] These features are attested to both in Jerusalem and in Constantinople and constitute essential elements of the cult of the Virgin that from the sixth century onwards would be fully developed in the Byzantine capital. The accounts of Sophronios, John of Damaskos and Pseudo-John of Damaskos continue the tradition recorded by pilgrim Antonios (570), according to which Mary was born in the Probatike. The history of the church and the first testimonies to its association with the nativity of Mary shape to a great extent our understanding of the topography of Anna's church in the Byzantine capital. This topography was largely influenced by Mary's association with healing waters (*haghiasmata*).[58]

The emerging cult of St Anna in Constantinople

The conditions under which a number of churches were dedicated to St Anna in the Byzantine capital shed light on the beliefs that formed her cult in Byzantium. And by encapsulating the formation of St Anna's cult we distinguish the components of space creation in the Byzantine capital. Constantinopolitan topography has never been examined through the prism of St Anna's cult, or vice-versa, and despite the emerging number of studies on the Virgin, these monuments, which are all documented in texts, have not attracted scholarly interest. Five churches were built from the sixth century on, and at least one of them was still standing in the beginning of the twelfth century.[59] The only church which has received some attention is the chapel of St Anna, built by Leo VI (886–912) in the Great Palace, which is mentioned in the chronicle of the *Continuator of Theophanes*.[60] The other four are either free-standing, such as the church of St Anna built by Justinian I in the quarter of the Deuteron, or are incorporated as chapels into churches dedicated to Mary, such as the Pege, the Chalkoprateia and the Hodegetria.

It will be argued in this chapter that as early as the sixth century Justinian established a topographical model according to which churches were located next to constructions based around water, which he embellished by incorporating chapels dedicated to the Virgin and her mother. His interest in the creation of sacred spaces developed a topographical model in which St Anna in particular emerged as a healer saint, through her daughter's association with healing waters. Nowhere in Byzantine texts or images are healing powers through water attributed to St Anna; it is only in the Constantinopolitan topography that her healing qualities are associated with water.

It was argued earlier that the Probatike was part of the sixth-century building activity related to the early life of the Virgin Mary in Jerusalem and a result of the influence of the *Protevangelion of James*. The same development took place in the Byzantine capital, after the Council of Ephesos (431), where Mary was proclaimed 'Theotokos' (God-bearer) and the first churches dedicated to her appeared in the city.[61] However it was a century later that Justinian, who was particularly keen on promoting the veneration of Mary, dedicated numerous churches in her honour throughout the empire, including Constantinople,[62] Palestine,[63] Egypt,[64] Libya,[65] Antioch[66] and Asia Minor.[67] A further indication of the veneration that Justinian had for the Theotokos is the testimony of Prokopios, who writes, before proceeding to the enumeration of the churches of Mary built by the emperor in Constantinople: 'We must begin with the churches of Mary the Mother of God. For we know that this is the wish of the Emperor himself, and true reason manifestly demands that from God one must proceed to the Mother of God'.[68] Justinian's promotion of the cult of Mary is explained by his acknowledgment of Anna's role in the divine soteriological plan, demonstrated in the construction of a church in her honour. Prokopios's *On Buildings* is our earliest textual source regarding the commission of a church dedicated to St Anna in the Byzantine capital: 'For God, being born a man as was His wish, is subjected to even a third generation, and His ancestry is traced back from His mother even as is that of a man'.[69] Prokopios's reference reflects Justinian's acknowledgement that Mary's genealogy ('third generation') should be regarded as an integral part of the veneration of Christ, and an articulate expression of this notion is the emperor's placing of St Anna's church under his patronage, as he did many other buildings during his reign.[70] What is crucial in this sentence, is that Mary's apocryphal past is for the first time explicitly regarded as an important part of Christology, an idea that will be formulated from the eighth century onwards in homilies on Mary's early life. In his *On Buildings* he writes that a 'great church' was built in the quarter of the Deuteron and was dedicated to the 'so-called Mother of Mary'.[71] Prokopios makes no mention of the church of St Anna in the Deuteron,[72] and neither does the tenth-century writer/editor of the *Patria of Constantinople*.[73] St Anna's church must have been located in the vicinity of the Chora Monastery, between the church of Sts Bassianos and Matronas and near the Aetios and Aspar cisterns (modern Edirne Kapusi).[74] The location of the church of St Anna in this area is verified by the *Typikon* of the Kecharitomene Monastery (1110–1116), which is connected by road with the church under discussion.[75] As far as its dating is concerned, Mango sees 'a trend of monastery building' in the fifth century and especially in the sixth century in the area of the Deuteron, where, as he says, there were already twenty-one monasteries in 536.[76] It could be that the availability of space encouraged the construction of these churches in this part of the Byzantine capital. Since we know from Prokopios that Justinian was patron of this church, its dedication must date back to the period between Justinian's rise to the throne in 527 and the publication of Prokopios's *Buildings* in 554/5.[77] The church of St Anna was built at a time when there were only seven monasteries dedicated to Mary in the capital,[78] and Justinian's patronage of Anna forms part of the slow rise of Marian devotion in the capital,[79] which was partly

the result of his 'personal devotion', as well as religious trends.[80] It has been suggested that Justinian's building activity was confined to maintaining existing monuments,[81] but there is no evidence – either in textual or archaeological sources – that prior to the sixth century other Byzantine emperors commissioned the erection of a church dedicated to St Anna. Moreover, it was during Justinian's era that the first liturgical piece on the Nativity of Mary appeared, which was possibly read on the consecration of the Deuteron church and was composed by Romanos the Melodist. This is an isolated attempt to place the life of Mary's parents in a liturgical context; it will be resumed and completed after the eighth century.

Justinian instituted the first elements of the cult of St Anna by dedicating the first church in her honour in the Byzantine capital and through the hymn of the Melodist by associating it with the nativity of the Virgin, a development that also took place in sixth-century Jerusalem. What distinguishes his building activity from that in Jerusalem is the establishment of a topographical model which placed a church of Mary and of St Anna close to each other and next to a source of healing water, as will be shown below.

The Justinianic model of the Probatike in the post-sixth-century topography of Constantinople: the Pege, the Chalkoprateia and the Hodegetria

Except for the church in the Deuteron, Middle and Late Byzantine sources refer to three churches or chapels dedicated to St Anna in Constantinople that were integrated into churches dedicated to Mary: the Pege, the Hodegetria[82] and the Chalkoprateia.[83]

We are told about the chapel of St Anna at Pege by a tenth-century description of a miracle at the site.[84] Four centuries earlier, Prokopios had underlined the holiness of the location in his account of the construction of the Pege:

> In that place there is a dense grove of cypresses and a meadow abounding in flowers in the midst of soft glebe, a park abounding in beautiful shrubs, and a spring bubbling silently forth with a gentle stream of sweet water – all especially appropriate to a sanctuary.[85]

The site's holiness is also emphasized in the fourteenth-century account of Nikephoros Kallistos (1256–1335), who describes the miracle of the spring's foundation during the reign of Leo I (457–474).[86] However unhistorical, Nikephoros's account shows that, despite the eight centuries that elapsed between Prokopios and Nikephoros, the spring's fame as a healing site never completely subsided, although it fell into disuse during the Latin domination (1204–1261).[87] Earlier in this book, John of Damaskos's reference to the 'nature' of the Probatike was noted. The same concept was alluded to by Prokopios, who justified the sanctity of a church dedicated to Mary in Pege not only by the fact that it was dedicated to Christ's mother, but also because the setting, the natural architecture, its flora and waters were in harmony with Mary's sanctity, as the veneration of Christ's mother

necessitated appropriate natural surroundings. The tenth-century miracle account shows that by that time St Anna had become associated with two traditions which until then had been attributed to her daughter: healing powers and proximity to a *haghiasma*. Also by the tenth century, St Anna had been connected in written sources with the healing site of Pege (as shown in the tenth-century miracle accounts mentioned earlier) and as with the Probatike, she appropriated another healing site thanks to the benevolent properties of its waters.[88] From the tenth-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople* we are informed of a church or chapel of St Anna in the Chalkoprateia, where Anna's Conception (of Mary) was celebrated.[89] Finally, we are told about the church of St Anna in the Hodegetria in a twelfth-century epigram by Theodore Balsamon: 'To the tomb near the church of St Anna in the Hodegon monastery'.[90] The paucity of information available on these three ecclesiastical buildings makes it very difficult to determine the date of their initial construction. Janin correctly points out that this sentence could signify either a chapel or church,[91] but, if it were a chapel, then Theodore would have referred to the tomb in relation to the Hodegetria church, and not to one of its integrated chapels. In the Hodegetria church, which is not mentioned before the ninth century,[92] there used to be a fountain which was said to possess miraculous qualities; this fountain – according to the texts – was the reason for its construction in this specific location as early as the ninth century and – according to pilgrims – was venerated at least until the fourteenth century.[93] The miraculous fountain of the Hodegetria was compared to the pool in Siloam in Jerusalem,[94] where according to *St John's Gospel* (9:1–7) a blind man was healed. Like the Siloam pool in Jerusalem, the Hodegetria was a well-known healing site for curing the blind.[95]

The Constantinopolitan churches in which both St Anna and Mary are venerated follow the growing tendency of Byzantine religious architecture to connect churches with healing water. Mary, Anna and healing waters feature prominently and are interconnected through Mary's healing qualities. Apart from the Pege, the Chalkoprateia and the Hodegetria, it could be that this evolution was already underway in the sixth century in the Deuteron church. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* writes under September 6: 'Consecration of (the church of) the Theotokos in the church of Anna in the Deuteron'.[96] The *Synaxarion* either gives us information missing in Prokopios, or else it marks a post-Justinianic evolution according to which a church of Mary was incorporated or attached to an existing church of St Anna. When it comes to healing, even when waters were not in the proximity of a church, then the choice of saints covers this need, as we can deduce from the arrangements of a chapel at the Sinai monastery built by Justinian. In the sixth-century basilica, which, as Prokopios tells us, was dedicated to Mary,[97] two chapels are contemporary with the sixth-century katholikon, and they are located on its southern side: one for Sts Anna and Joachim and one for Sts Kosmas and Damian, the famous healer saints.[98] Justinian was certainly not an innovator; he merely accelerated a process that had already begun, according to which water constructions and the cult of Mary were gradually emerging in the Byzantine capital and Jerusalem. Krueger correctly sees Justinian's era as a time of 'the rise of a piety focused on the ability of sacred places and material substances to contain

and convey divine power'.[99] The topographical model in Constantinople explained above was based on the fact that from the sixth century onwards churches and baths had become 'increasingly inseparable'.[100] This is the result of the freedom of the Constantinopolitan topography to adjust the sacred topography of Jerusalem to the demands of Constantinople's religious architecture. Ousterhout has correctly put it as follows: 'Within Constantinople we may witness the construction of a sacred topography in many different ways, but it was not the topography of Jerusalem. As a sacred city it could be likened to Jerusalem but it neither replicated nor replaced the prototype'.[101] He concludes, 'The sanctity of Jerusalem was fixed, but Constantinople did not suffer the restrictions of a memorialized past and could free-associate'.[102] Recent scholarship sees the sixth century as a period that witnessed conscious efforts in Constantinople to create sacred spaces:

> Constantinople, the Second Rome, became the Second Jerusalem in the sixth century. In a process of reduplication and multiplication that is common during Late Antiquity, . . . Constantinople acquired the same religious value as Jerusalem in the Christian faith. This is due to the progressive creation of holy places within the capital and to the symbolic meaning they acquired.[103]

In this context, Byzantine emperors and Justinian I in particular were engaged in creating sacred spaces, but this did not mean that the same concept is applied to model and 'copy'.[104] Justinian, however, was innovative in creating a tradition of healing around St Anna which found expression only in church architecture, a reflection of which is attested in the twelfth-century calendar addendum of the Iviron Monastery, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Interested in healer saints and motivated by his respect for the Virgin, he built the first church in Constantinople dedicated to her mother and included her among healer saints in the Sinai monastery.[105] It should also be noted that, apart from the Deuteron, where there is no tangible evidence, all churches/chapels dedicated to St Anna in the Byzantine capital were in the proximity of a church of Mary and a fountain, following the model of the Probatike. Moreover, St Anna's first church in the Byzantine capital was built to commemorate the nativity of Mary, which makes it even more likely that the Probatike had a greater influence on sixth-century Constantinopolitan topography than is generally thought.

Imperial patronage after Justinian I in Constantinople and beyond: Basil I – Leo VI

As mentioned earlier, Justinian's church of St Anna in the Deuteron was rebuilt during the reign of Basil I (867–886).[106] Basil I is also credited with the reconstruction of a church dedicated to the same saint in Trebizond. It is the oldest surviving church in Trebizond, and according to an extant inscription it was rebuilt by a provincial governor under Basil I and his sons Leo VI and Alexander in 884/5.[107] Bryer and Winfield are of the opinion that the 'restoration of St Anna in Trebizond is somehow connected to the activities in the Byzantine capital'.[108]

The chapel built by Basil's son, Leo VI, inside the Great Palace and the church in the Deuteron are the only monuments about which we have more detailed textual information. The *Continuator of Theophanes* tells us about a palace chapel dedicated to St Anna by the emperor Leo VI next to his wife's bedroom.[109] Unfortunately, it is difficult to establish its exact location, as scholarly attempts to reconstruct a very complex space have resulted in variations in the correlation between the palace's buildings. This becomes clear when one compares the different representations and topographical relationships between various buildings of the Great Palace offered by Labarte, Krause, Paspates, Ebersolt and Guilland (in Miranda's book).[110] The common denominator in their reconstructions (Vogt is excluded since he has not included Anna's chapel in his reconstruction) is that the Kamilas and the chapel of St Anna should be placed south of the Mesopatos. However, there are two different suggested locations for the Mousikos: it was either east of the Kamilas, followed to the west by the Mesopatos, the chapel of St Anna and the empress's wardrobe,[111] or between the Mesopatos and the chapel of St Anna.[112] The suggestions also differ as to whether the chapel of St Anna occupied half of a double building or was formed out of two separate parts, the naos and the narthex. Despite these differences, the proximity of the Mousikos to the Kamilas, its orientation to the north of the St Anna's chapel and also the proximity of St Anna's chapel to the empress's bedroom mentioned by the *Continuator of Theophanes* appear to be the only reliable references to verify its location.[113] Despite the lack of scholarly interest in the palace chapel of St Anna, the establishment of its location contributes to our knowledge of the perplexing palace topography. In order to establish this as accurately as possible we need to look at the arrangement of the rooms in its vicinity, since their relation to each other has been a source of debate among scholars. For this reason it is necessary to look again at the account of *Theophanes Continuatus*.

The text of *Theophanes Continuator* revisited

Theophanes Continuator refers to a number of buildings that were constructed during the reign of Leo VI; however we are interested in the rooms (κουβούκλεια, cubicula) already mentioned above: the Kamilas, the Mesopatos, the empress's vestiary, the empress's bedroom (the Mousikos) and the arrangement of the space between these and the chapel of St Anna.

In the beginning of his account, the *Continuator of Theophanes* provides an overview of the rooms 'according to order' ('κατά τάξιν'): the rooms were orientated from north to south, and the Kamilas was the upper room;[114] next to it there was a second room, which Theophanes does not name, followed by a third room, which had been converted into the vestiary of the Augusta.[115] It appears that Theophanes refers to the three buildings as existing next to each other.

He now begins a description of the rooms:[116] the Kamilas, on the first floor,[117] is attached to a chapel, which comprises two sanctuaries, one dedicated to the Theotokos and one to the Archangel Michael.[118] Under the Kamilas there is a 'mesopaton' ('μεσόπατον').[119] The word 'mesopaton' should not be confused with

the room Mesopatos mentioned shortly afterwards, since the initial letter -μ- is not capital and no masculine form of the word is used in the text (in 'Mesopatos' the second half – πάτος – is masculine); the 'μεσόπατον' is an adjective agreeing with a neuter noun, 'aristerion', mentioned further on in the text,[120] thus the 'mesopaton aristerion' is located under the Kamilas or its integrated chapels. After the Kamilas, there is a second room,[121] which has roof and floor decorations of Proconnesian marble similar to that of the Kamilas,[122] but the name of this room is not mentioned.[123] The text then refers to the room where the eunuchs lived: '[There is a room] under this [the room next to the Kamilas], which is called the Mesopatos'.[124] The Mesopatos was not the name of the second room, but the one under the second room to the south of the Kamilas. This is probably the reason why at the beginning of his text the author does not include it in the three rooms on the top floor, which were presented in order ('κατά τάξιν'). The third room is the vestiary of the Augusta.[125] The layout follows that of the other two rooms on the top floor; the roof is similar to the others and the floor is made of Proconnesian marble.[126] Under the vestiary of the Augusta there was a ground-floor room which formed part of the vestiary:[127] 'It is named the Mousikos because of the precise cut of its marbles',[128] and '[i]t is unified with the empress's vestiary on the western side (of the vestiary)'.[129] The author next turns to the chapel of St Anna: 'Another [room] lies at the foot of it [the empress's vestiary], is divided into two rooms, and approaches the chamber of the Augusta [the Mousikos]. Here, Leo, the Christ-loving emperor, built a chapel of St Anna and this was erected on four Bithynian columns and white Proconnesian marble on the floor. Bithynian slabs were used on the walls. But this, as I said, approaches the chamber of the Augusta.[130] The other one [the other half of the double room], to the west of the Mousikos, leads downstairs to the aforementioned chamber of the Augusta via a staircase, and the entrance is formed in the same way [with a staircase]'.[131] We are not told about the topographical relationship between the room that 'lies at the foot' of the empress's vestiary and the vestiary itself, but only about the vestiary's unification to the west with the Mousikos. Also, the same room appears at the foot of the vestiary, so how is it possible that its other half, which is presumably found on the same level as the first half, has a staircase that leads downstairs to the Mousikos, since the Mousikos was, as the *Continuator of Theophanes* explicitly claims, under the vestiary?

Our conclusions from the above discussion can be summarized as follows: the text of the *Continuator of Theophanes* orientates the relevant palace buildings from north to south and from top to bottom. He does not describe them in a row, starting from the upper level and moving on to the ones on lower levels, but refers to the ones on top and immediately to the rooms under them. Thus, under the Kamilas there is a room transformed into a library (aristerion), next to the Kamilas an unnamed room (κουβούκλειο) and underneath it the Mesopatos, next to the Mesopatos the vestiary of the Augusta and underneath it the chapel of St Anna. Modern scholarship disputes this analysis since, according to Kostenec, Theophanes says that the ceilings of the chambers on the first floor were supported by columns and the scholar assumes that 'if the columns carried ceilings, not roofs, this implies that there could be [an]other storey[s] above the chambers'.[132]

The chapel of Anna is a double building – not necessarily occupying both spaces – and its second half is connected via a staircase with the bedroom of the Augusta (the Mousikos).[133]

Justinian I, the Macedonian dynasty and St Anna

The palace chapel is the least unknown church dedicated to St Anna in Byzantine scholarship, but what determined its construction remains unexplained. At first, it stems from Leo VI's father's interest in the saint, implied by the fact that Justinian's church of St Anna in the Deuteron was rebuilt during the reign of Basil I (867–886),[134] and Basil I is probably involved with the reconstruction of a church dedicated to the same saint in Trebizond, which according to an extant inscription was rebuilt under Basil I in 884/5.[135] In this respect Leo respected and spread his father's veneration of a number of saints and imitated the initiatives of his role model, Justinian I. A few examples support this argument.

Leo continued not only his father's revision of the Code of Justinian,[136] but also a festival dedicated to the Prophet Elijah. He also composed hymns and a homily on the same Old Testament prophet. Moreover, and despite the fact that he murdered Michael III, he dedicated a palace chapel to the murdered emperor's namesake, the Archangel Michael, continuing the building activity associated with the Archangel carried out by his father. On a different level, Justinian's legacy and his efforts to establish the veneration of St Anna in the Byzantine capital did not go unacknowledged. Leo VI was interested in the creation of sacred spaces and associated himself with buildings connected with Justinian. In the proximity of the church of the Hodegetria is the place where the bath of Leo VI was located,[137] the iconography of which – according to Magdalino – 'was influenced by a bath or baptistery attached to one of the many churches that Justinian had rebuilt'.[138] Koder recognized Leo's interest in the creation of sacred space in his decorative program on the imperial door at Hagia Sophia, built by Justinian I, where the image of Mary the Egyptian was beside the imperial door, in a location similar to that of her image in the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[139] It seems, however, that Leo's interest in Justinian goes back to his father. Dagron notes that the church of the Nea built by Basil I was named the New Great church (in contrast to the Old Great church of Justinian I), after Basil himself.[140] The same scholar argues that the Nea was defined in relation to Justinian's church, which 'continued in use and remained a fixed point in ceremonial'.[141] Similarities between Justinian and Leo are attested to in the way they related to St Anna. Both promoted her cult, Justinian with the church in the quarter of the Deuteron and the first *kontakion* of Mary's Nativity written by Romanos the Melodist, and Leo VI with the dedication of the palace chapel to Anna and his own composition of sermons on Mary's Nativity and Presentation.[142] Even so, Leo's father, Basil I, was the first emperor after Justinian to reconstruct the churches of St Anna in Constantinople and Trebizond; he also had a daughter named Anna.[143] All the above could well suggest that Leo built the chapel to St Anna not only out of personal motivation, but also to continue his father's promotion of the saint's cult.[144]

Nevertheless, there is evidence showing that Leo's VI personal struggle to secure a male descendant for the Byzantine throne is what actually prompted his interest in St Anna. A tenth-century miracle account performed in the church of the Pege reflects Leo's anxiety to beget a male heir: his wife Zoe visited the church because she had difficulty conceiving, and afterwards she gave birth to Constantine.[145] Tougher notes that Leo's desire for a male heir 'tends to dominate accounts of his reign, for his quest for an heir led him into conflict with the church and resulted in his excommunication'.[146] The emotional distress after the death of his third wife Eudokia Baiane, and shortly after that of his son Basil, is reflected in the life of Patriarch Euthymios (907–912), where it is said that Leo experienced 'inconsolable grief.'[147] The same emotional state is expressed in the homily on Mary's Nativity composed by Leo, which may have taken place after the birth of Constantine VII and written on the occasion of the consecration of the palace chapel. The reason we should place the composition of the homily after the birth of Constantine VII rather than after the birth of Leo's first son, Basil, is that Basil died shortly after his mother Eudokia, and Leo's grief for the deaths of his wife and son is not consistent with the images of relief that appear throughout the homily. In view of the emperor's need to secure his dynasty it seems that it was not an act of thanksgiving for the birth of his daughter Anna, the fruit of his second marriage with Zoe Zaoutzaina.[148]

Specifically, the homily revolves around the sterility of Anna and Joachim, the sadness they experienced, their constant prayers, the reproach they experienced from the people of their tribe and their joy at Mary's birth. Although there are a number of standard features in homilies on Mary's early life,[149] there are a few cases of homilists who manipulate the story of the *Protevangelion* according to the theological message they wish to bring out. The homily is not based on the *Protevangelion* to any great extent, since it ignores, for example, Anna and Joachim's social background, the dialogues between Joachim and the men of his tribe, the angel of annunciation, as well as Anna's lament. The fact that sections of the apocryphal story are left out is not exceptional in homilies on Mary's early life. But Leo highlighted the events experienced by another male figure, Mary's father, Joachim, that best reflected his own emotional state. Another point in which Leo's homily differs is that he addresses Joachim in particular. This emphasis is shown in the comparison of Anna to Eve, which could be derived from Joachim's and Leo VI's shared desire for a male child.[150] Nowhere in the homily is Anna referred to as the 'new Eve' in contrast to Joachim, who is named the 'new Adam'.[151] The different treatment of the story of the *Protevangelion* is not based solely on theological but also on personal grounds. Leo's emotional attachment to Joachim originates in his struggle for an heir to the Byzantine throne, since he had had three children but only Constantine VII became emperor. The happy event of Constantine's accession to the throne, combined with the dedication of the palace chapel to a saint who protected childbirth, makes it likely that the homily was composed after Constantine had been crowned emperor (905) and that the dedication of the palace chapel to Anna was an oblation by Leo to secure a male child, because his first son Basil had died and he was left with two daughters.[152] Although Leo was

influenced by his father's choices in his building program, it is not unreasonable to think that the construction of the palace chapel, which had the same motivation as his homily, could also date from around that time. Furthermore, Leo had a great devotion to the Virgin,[153] which we know because he dedicated four homilies[154] and a church to her.[155] It is also the church of Mary in Pege that his wife Zoe visited before getting pregnant, where by the tenth century miracle accounts refer to the existence of a chapel to St Anna, as mentioned above. Although it is stated with some uncertainty, the prayer in this particular monument to two saints known to have been vested with healing qualities and the fact that Anna was known by that time to cure sterility[156] may indicate that Justinian's promotion of Anna as a healer saint had been established in Pege in tenth-century Constantinople and attracted women with fertility problems.

The cases of Basil I in Trebizond and of Leo in *Theophanes Continuator* are examples of the imperial patronage of St Anna, which promoted Justinian's initiatives. By the time Leo VI wrote his homilies and dedicated his chapel, the veneration of Anna had been established in Constantinople and his patronage was now wedded to Anna's quality as a protector of childbirth. In contrast, Justinian's interest in the saint is an isolated phenomenon, expressing his interest in both the life of Mary and healing. No other emperor showed the same interest in the saint, but archaeological evidence and contemporary sources show that it was under Basil I and Leo VI that Anna's imperial patronage was revived.

Conclusions

The Probatike in Jerusalem is the first place we find the emergence of the veneration of Anna in the East, because it provided a number of features which the topography of Constantinople inherited and altered to fit the ideology behind the creation of sacred spaces. After the introduction of the cult of St Anna to Constantinople by Justinian I, healing qualities were attributed to the saint, as was the case with her daughter in the Probatike before the sixth century (dedication of Ioannina). Justinian manipulated existing ideologies on healing and topography, inserted them into Constantinopolitan church topography and established the association of St Anna with healing waters and cures. From the sixth century, churches or chapels of Anna were attached to a church dedicated to Mary and continued at least to the end of the tenth century, as we see in the Pege, the Chalkoprateia and the Hodegetria. Anna was also gradually transformed into a healing saint and was to be fully worshipped as such in the Middle Byzantine period. The proximity of later monuments of St Anna to healing waters or healing saints and Mary shows that Justinian's model was continued by the Byzantines, as seen in Iviron monastery. Anna's healing qualities were established in the sixth century, but had been crystallized at least by the ninth century in the form of curing infertility, as is implied in the homily of Leo VI and his construction of the chapel in the Great Palace, the study of which contributes not only to Palace topography but also to social perceptions interwoven with the cult of the saint. As will be shown in chapter 2, the same conclusion is arrived at by looking at hagiography and histories,

where the manipulation of St Anna's cult reflects social problems related to childbirth and attests to the fact that veneration of her developed in the Byzantine capital from the eighth century onwards. As for the period before the eighth century, topography itself shows the ideological attributions made to the saint.

Notes

1 Manuel Gedeon, *Εκκλησίαι βυζαντιναί εξακριβούμεναι (κυρίως η Θεοτόκος των Κύρου), Συμπλήρωμα του Βυζαντινού Εορτολογίου* (Constantinople, 1900), p. 134. For the date of the text, see ibid., pp. 120, 122.

2 For a detailed discussion of the history, dating, and the connection of the site with divine births, see Eirini Panou, 'The Church of Mary in the Probatic Pool and the Haghiasmata of Constantinople', in Carol Harrison and Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Theodore De Bruyn (eds.), *Patristic Studies in the Twenty-First Century: An International Conference to Mark the 50th Anniversary of AIEP/IAPS* (Jerusalem, 2015), pp. 635–650.

3 Louis-Hugues Vincent and Félix-Marie Abel, *Jérusalem: recherches de topographie, d'archéologie, et d'histoire, T. 2, Jérusalem nouvelle. Fasc. 3, La Sainte-Sion et les sanctuaires de second ordre* (Paris, 1922), p. 671, n. 6; Cornelia Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 250–251, n. 11.

4 Claudine Daupnin, 'Un kontakion de pierres pour la Théotokos', in *Sainte-Anne de Jérusalem La Piscine Probatique de Jésus à Saladin, PrOC Numéro Spécial* (Beyrouth, 2011), pp. 83–86.

5 PO 8, p. 35; Ernest Honigmann, 'Juvenal of Jerusalem', *DOP*, 5 (1950): p. 263; Horn, *Asceticism*, p. 21; Jan-Eric Steppa, *John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonean Culture* (Piscataway, NJ, 2005), p. 61; Witold Witakowski, 'Syrian Monophysite Propaganda in the Fifth to Seventh Centuries', in Lennart Rydén and Jan Olof Rosenqvist (eds.), *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium: Papers Read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 31 May–5 June, 1992* (Stockholm, 1993), p. 62.

6 Maiouma (or Neapolis) was Gaza's port ('κατεπλεύσαμεν εἰς τὸ παράλιον μέρος τῆς Γαζαίων, ὃ καλοῦσιν Μαϊουμᾶν'), see Mark the Deacon, *Βίος Αγίου Πορφυρίου επισκόπου Γάζης*, Iera Mitropoli Argolidos (ed.), Vasilis Katsaros (trans.) (Athens, 2003), p. 198. The name was associated with the 'feast of waters' of Syriac origin, authorized by Arkadios and Honorios in 396 which was still being celebrated during Justinian I's time [René Mouterde, 'Cultes antiques de la Coelésyrie et de l'Hermon', *MUSJ*, 36 (1959): pp. 72–73; Stefan Schorch, 'Die Propheten und der Karneval: marzeach – maioumas – maimuna', *VT*, 53.3 (2003): pp. 404–411]. Possibly, John Chrysostom refers to this feast in his homily *On Julian the Martyr* (Wendy Mayer, in Johan Leemans [et al.] (eds.), *Let Us Die That We May Live: Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria, (c. AD 350-AD 450)* (London, 2003), pp. 127–128). For the location of Maiouma in the Madaba map, see Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic* (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 74. 'Peter the Iberian, transformed Maiuma, Gaza's port, into a stronghold of anti-Chalkedonian resistance', see Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Religious Contacts in Byzantine Palestine', *Numen*, 36 (1989): p. 19.

7 For bibliography on John Rufos, see Horn, *Asceticism*, p. 11, n. 4 and n. 5. For his life, see ibid., pp. 30–44 and Aryeh Kofsky, 'Peter the Iberian: Pilgrimage, Monasticism and Ecclesiastical Politics in Byzantine Palestine', *LA*, 47 (1997): pp. 209–222.

8 Honigmann, 'Juvenal', p. 211.

9 Horn, *Asceticism*, pp. 247–49; Cornelia Horn and Robert R. Phenix (eds. and trans.), *John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus* (Leiden, 2008), p. 1iii; Peter Norton, *Episcopal Elections 250–600: Hierarchy*

and Popular Will in Late Antiquity (Oxford and New York, 2007), p. 76. John Rufos identifies Juvenal as 'the apostate' and in sixth-century anti-Chalkedonian literature Juvenal's 'betrayal' is compared to that of Judas, see Horn and Phenix (eds. and trans.), *John Rufus*, pp. 64–65, and also David W. Johnson (trans.), *A Panegyric on Macarius, Bishop of Tkôw, Attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria*, CSCO 416 (Louvain, 1980), p. 35: 'O more traitorous and lawless than everyone, you left full and you have come back empty. Throw out Judas, the traitor, for he is not in communion with the Savior and his disciples'.

10 PO 8:35; For a translation of this section, see Horn, *Asceticism*, p. 324; Honigmann, 'Juvenal', p. 264. 'This testimony and others of such kind mentioned by Rufos is not evidence that Chalkedonias actually neglected the sites'; see Horn, *Asceticism*, p. 325.

11 Ildiko Csepregi, 'The Theological Other: Religious and Narrative Identity in Fifth to Seventh Century Byzantine Miracle Collections', in Ana Marinkovic and Trpimir Vedris (eds.), *Identity and Alterity in the Making and Practice of Cults* (Zagreb, 2010), p. 60.

12 Ibid., p. 69. For dreams in Christianity and Byzantium, see Morton T. Kelsey, *God, Dreams, and Revelation: A Christian Interpretation of Dreams* (Minneapolis, MN, 1974); Robert Karl Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 1996); Maria V. Mavroude, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources* (Leiden and Boston, 2002); Steven M. Oberhelman, *Dreambooks in Byzantium: Six Oneirocritica in Translation, with Commentary and Introduction* (Aldershot, 2008); Kelly Bulkeley and Kate Adams and Patricia M. Davis (eds.), *Dreaming in Christianity and Islam: Culture, Conflict, and Creativity* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2009) and the work of George T. Calofonos.

13 Cameron had argued [Averyl Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds Its Symbol', *JTS*, 29 (1978): pp. 79–108, (reprinted) in *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London, 1981), XIV, p. 89] that the girdle had been translated to Constantinople by the fifth century, a view that the scholar later modified, see Averyl Cameron, 'The Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Religious Development and Myth-Making', in Robert Norman Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary: Papers Read at the 2001 Summer Meeting and the 2002 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2004), p. 12.

14 Cyril Mango, 'The Origins of the Blachernai Shrine at Constantinople', in Nenad Cambi and Emilio Marin (eds.), *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split-Porecˇ (25 September–1 October 1994)* (3 vols, Split and Città del Vaticano, 1998), vol. 2, p. 67. See also Averyl Cameron, 'The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople', *Byzantion*, 49 (1979): pp. 42–56.

15 Stephen J. Shoemaker, 'The Cult of Fashion: The Earliest Life of the Virgin and Constantinople's Marian Relics', *DOP*, 62 (2008): p. 67.

16 Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford, 2002), p. 69; Shoemaker, 'The Cult of Fashion', p. 68. See Bonifatius P. Kotter (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* (7 vols, Berlin, 1988), vol. 5, pp. 504–505.

17 Kotter (ed.), *Die Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 536, lines 10–1: 'τὸ ταύτης πανάγιον καὶ θεοδόχον ανεζήτουν σῶμα'. For its sixth-century dating, see Basile Lourié, 'L'Histoire Euthymiaque: l'œuvre du Patriarche Euthymios/Euphemios de Constantinople (490–496, † 515)', *WST*, 20 (2007): p. 205.

18 Johnson (trans.), *A Panegyric on Macarius*, p. 11*.

19 Lourié, 'L'Histoire Euthymiaque', p. 204.

20 Johnson (trans.), *A Panegyric on Macarius*, p. 38: 'all the people gathered at the shrine of the holy Mary in the valley of Josaphat. And the soldiers surrounded the church'. Shoemaker accepts that the shrine of Mary mentioned in the account of *Makarios of Tkōw* 'was certainly the church of her tomb'. He refutes, however, the idea that the tomb

should ever be placed in the context of anti-Chalkedonian propaganda. She Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, p. 259.

21 Lourié, 'L'Histoire Euthymiaque', p. 205.

22 John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 2002), p. 109.

23 Rina Avner, 'The Initial Tradition of the Theotokos at the Kathisma: Earliest Celebrations and the Calendar', in Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (eds.), *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images* (Farnham, Surrey, 2011), pp. 21, 29.

24 Ibid., pp. 24–25, but not her tomb.

25 The earliest reference of the 'Kathisma' is found in the fifth-century Armenian Lectionary, see PO 36.2, and p. 181 for the dating of the text.

26 Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), *Ανάλεκτα Ιεροσολυμιτικής σταχυολογίας* (5 vols, Bruxelles, 1963), vol. 4, pp. 267–268; Boll. Acta SS. 10 Jan. p. 614, ch. 5, par. 17.

27 Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), *Ανάλεκτα*, p. 267.

28 Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (in Greek), Marina Loukake (trans.) (Athens, 2000), p. 448; Dimitris Drakoulis, 'The Functional Organization of Early Byzantine Constantinople according to the Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae', in Theodoros Korres and Panagiotis Doukelis and Spyridon Sfetas and Fotini I. Toloudi (eds.), *Openness: Studies in Honours of Vasiliki Papoulia* (Thessalonike, 2012), pp. 161, 162, 177–179.

29 Dagron, *Naissance*, pp. 448–449.

30 Martin Wallraff, 'Ein prominenter Konvertit vom Novatianismus zur Orthodoxie', *VChr*, 52 (1998): p. 21.

31 Theodore Preger (ed.), *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1989), pp. 233–234. See also in the later edition, Albrecht Berger (trans.), *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 24 (Cambridge, MA and London, 2013), p. 164.

32 Titus Tobler (ed.), *Itinera et descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ* (Geneva, 1877), pp. 106, 137.

33 Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 109. For Theodosios, see Ora Limor and Milkah Rubin, *Holy Land Travels: Christian Pilgrims in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 167–194.

34 Ora Limor, '"Holy Journey": Pilgrimage and Christian Sacred Landscape', in Ora Limour and Guy G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land from the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 322, n. 3.

35 Herbert Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land: die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästinapilger (4.-7. Jahrhundert)* (Stuttgart, 1979), p. 288, no 27.

36 Rina Avner, 'The Kathisma: A Christian and Muslim Pilgrimage Site', *Aram*, 19 (2007): p. 547.

37 Lepage places the development of the tradition around Mary's house to the fifth century but the evidence he uses dates after the fifth century; see Claude Lepage, 'Première iconographie chrétienne de Palestine: controversies anciennes et perspectives à la lumière des liturgies et monuments éthiopiens', *CRAI*, 3 (1997): p. 769.

38 PO 18, pp. 18–19.

39 Mary B. Cunningham (trans.), *Wider than Heaven: Eighth-Century Homilies on the Mother of God* (Crestwood, NY, 2008), p. 68.

40 The *Protevangelion* survived around one hundred and forty-two copies, see Edouard Cothenet, 'Le Protévangile de Jacques: origine, genre et signification d'un premier midrash chrétien sur la Nativité de Marie', *ANRW*, II.25.6 (1988): p. 4225.

41 Panou, 'The Church of Mary', pp. 640–641.

42 Limor, '"Holy Journey"', p. 352.

43 Theodor Kluge and Anton Baumstark, 'Quadragesima und Karwoche Jerusalems im siebten Jahrhundert', *OCS*, 5 (1915): p. 219, n. 6; Félix-Marie Abel, 'Recensions', *RB*, 23 (1914): p. 455, no. 9.

44 See chapter 2 of this volume.

45 Wendy Pullan, 'Mapping Time and Salvation: Early Christian Pilgrimage to Jerusalem', in Gavin D. Flood (ed.), *Mapping Invisible Worlds* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 33.

46 Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford, 1993), p. 337; See also Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, p. 79; Ora Limor, 'The Place of the End of the Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem', in Bianca Kühnel (ed.), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Jerusalem, 1998), p. 20.

47 Avner, 'The Kathisma', p. 542. In his discussion of the Kathisma of Mary, still existing during the time of the pilgrim Theodosios, Shoemaker notes (ibid., p. 83) that Theodosios 'fails to indicate explicitly the presence of a church at this site'. He notes (ibid., p. 70) that not all Dormition stories (which are of apocryphal origin) appeared after 614 and leaves space to argue that they could even antedate 614.

48 Avner, 'The Initial Tradition', p. 10.

49 Avner accepts that during the fifth century there was only the Kathisma of the Virgin standing while the sources that place the construction of her tomb in the fifth century are untrustworthy; see Avner, 'The Initial Tradition', p. 21. On the contrary, Shoemaker supports the existence of the Tomb from the fifth century; see Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, p. 99.

50 Paulus Peeters, 'Un nouveau manuscrit arabe du récit de la prise de Jérusalem par les Perses, en 614', *AB*, 38 (1920): p. 145.

51 Pauline Allen (ed.), *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy: The Synodical Letter and Other Documents: Introduction, Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Oxford, 2009), p. 16; William, A. Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers* (3 vols, Minnesota, 1979), vol. 3, p. 306.

52 'Προβατικῆς ἁγίης ἔνδοθι βαίνω, ἔνθα τέκεν Μαρίην πάγκλυτος Ἄννα', see Wilhelm Christ and Matthaios Paranikas (eds.), *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Lipsiae, 1871), p. 46; PG 87: col. 3821C. For its translation, see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 160. Sophronios' *Anakreontikon* was written while he was in exile [Pullan, 'Mapping', p. 27; Allen, *Sophronius of Jerusalem*, p. 18; Simon Claude Mimouni, *Dormition et assomption de Marie: histoire des traditions anciennes* (Paris, 1995), p. 482] but returned to Jerusalem in 634, see Allen, *Sophronius of Jerusalem*, p. 20. Dauphin accepts that Sophronios saw the restored church of Mary in Probatike after he had returned from Egypt, (634) and that the first restoration of the church took place in 617–618; see Daupnin, 'Destruction – reconstruction: la probatique, de l'invasion perse au califat abbasside', in *Sainte-Anne de Jérusalem La Piscine Probatique de Jésus à Saladin, Proche-Orient Chrétien Numéro Spécial* (Beyrouth, 2011), p. 166.

53 Cunningham (trans.), *Wider*, p. 6.

54 Bonifatius P. Kotter (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* (7 vols, Berlin, 1973), vol. 2, p. 200. This is not in contrast to what Pseudo-John of Damaskos will write in his Nativity homily, where he supports the natural conception of the Virgin by St Anna, see Eirini Panou, 'The Theological Substance of St Anna's Motherhood in Byzantine Homilies and Art' (forthcoming).

55 Ibid., p. 200: 'Τίκτεται δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς προβατικῆς τοῦ Ἰωακεὶμ οἴκῳ καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ προσάγεται'.

56 Bonifatius P. Kotter (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* (7 vols, Berlin, 1975), vol. 3, p. 139.

57 Stelios Papadopoulos, 'Ο χώρος ως τόπος άγιος. Μια ανθρωπολογική προσέγγιση', *D.C.A.E.*, 23 (2002): p. 199.

58 Detailed description on how Mary's association with healing waters emerged in Christianity can be found in Panou, 'The Church of Mary'.

59 We know from the Typikon of the Kecharitomeni monastery that the church of St Anna in the quarter of Deuteron was still standing during the twelfth century. See Robert Jordan (trans.), 'Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the Convent of the

Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople', in John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, Dumbarton Oaks studies 35 (5 vols, Washington, DC, 2000), vol. 2, p. 710.

60 Immanuel Bekker (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus Chronografia* (Bonn, 1838), p. 146.18–19.

61 Cyril Mango, 'Η Κωνσταντινούπολη ως Θεοτοκούπολη', in Maria Vassilake (ed.), *Μήτηρ Θεού: Απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη Βυζαντινή τέχνη* (Athens, 2000), p. 21.

62 Wilhem Dindorf (ed.), *Procopius*, CSHB 48 (Bonn, 1838), vol. 3, pp. 184–185.

63 Ibid., p. 321 (Jerusalem, Nea church); Ibid., p. 325 (Neapolis).

64 Ibid., p. 327.

65 Ibid., p. 333.

66 Ibid., p. 241.

67 Ibid., p. 253.

68 Henry Bronson Dewing and Glanville Downey (trans.), *On Buildings* (London and Cambridge, MA, 1940), vol. 7, p. 39; Dindorf (ed.), *Procopius*, vol. 3, pp. 183–184.

69 Dewing and Downey (trans.), *On Buildings*, p. 43; Dindorf (ed.), *Procopius*, vol. 3, p. 185.

70 Only in Constantinople, Justinian built or rebuilt thirty-three churches (Mango, 'The Development', p. 126), or thirty [Derek Krueger, 'Christian Piety and Practice in the Sixth Century', in Michael Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 306]. He also dedicated churches to saints who were already popular in other parts of the Byzantine Empire, such as Sts Sergios and Bachkos and St Theodore, see Krueger, 'Christian Piety', p. 306; Cyril Mango, 'The Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches', *JÖB*, 21 (1972): pp. 189–193, (reprinted) in *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993), XIV, p. 388. Downey argues that Justinian's interest in churches of local saints was first initiated by Constantine I, see Glanville Downey, *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian* (Norman, 1960), pp. 93–4. The church of St Anna is missing from Downey's list; see Glanville Downey, 'Justinian as a Builder', *ABull*, 32 (1950): pp. 264–265.

71 Dindorf (ed.), *Procopius*, vol. 3, p. 185. Prokopios's reference to St Anna as the one 'who is believed to be the Mother of the Virgin Mary' does not imply ignorance of St Anna by the writer but is a literary attempt to imitate ancient Greek writers; see Averyl Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985), p. 93; Averyl Cameron, 'Procopius and the Church of St. Sophia', *Harvard Theological Review*, 58 (1965): pp. 161–163, (reprinted) in *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London, 1981), IV. For other works that mention the church of St Anna in the Deuteron, see Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, pp. 197, 324, 677; Immanuel Bekker (ed.) and Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, CSHB 31 (Bonn, 1842), p. 168; Hans Thurn (ed.), *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 107,163. See also Preger (ed.), *Scriptores*, p. 244; Hippolytus Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels, 1902), pp. 20.2, 90.5, 127.2, 842.1:15; Juan Mateos (ed.), *Le Typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no.40, Xe siècle*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 166 (Rome, 1962), pp. 16, 50; Peter Gilles, *Petri Gyllii De topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor* (Leiden, 1561), pp. 200–201, who uses Prokopios as his source; Charles Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana, seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanis, qualis exstitit sub imperatoribus Christianis, ex variis scriptoribus contexta & adornata* (Paris, 1680), part 4, pp. 143–144.

72 Cameron, *Procopius*, p. 100.

73 Preger (ed.), *Scriptores*, p. 232; Berger (trans.), *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, p. 164.

74 For Edirne Kapusi's modern location, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 278–279.

75 'Ο διαιρέτης τοῖχος τῆς γυναικείας μονῆς τῆς Κεχαριτωμένης, ἄρχεται ἀπὸ οὗ εἰσοδικοῦ πυλῶνος τῆς μονῆς τοῦ κατέμπροσθεν κειμένου τῆς δημοσίας ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐρχομένης ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης τοῦ Δευτέρου', see PG 127: col. 1117. For the translation of this part, see Jordan (trans.), 'Typikon of Empress Irene', p. 710.

76 Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe-VIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1985), p. 49.

77 Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 9–10.

78 Ibid., p. 19 (Between 518 and 536).

79 Mango, 'Η Κωνσταντινούπολη', p. 17.

80 Michel Van Esbroeck, 'Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople aux 6e-7e siècles', *REB*, 46 (1988): pp. 181–190, (reprinted) in *Aux origines de la Dormition de la Vierge: études historiques sur les traditions orientales* (Aldershot, 1995), X, pp. 182–183.

81 John Ball, *Gilles Pierre: The Antiquities of Constantinople* (New York, 1988), p. 173; Downey, 'Justinian', pp. 262–266.

82 Christine Angelidi, 'Une texte patriographique et édifiant: le 'Discours narratif' sur les Hodègoi', *REB*, 52 (1994): p. 141.

83 Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, 1e ptie, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Tome 3, Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), p. 37; Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 291. For the dating of Chalkoprateia and Hodegetria, see Janin, *La géographie*, pp. 199, 237; Manga, 'The Origins', p. 65; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 411; Mango, 'The Development', p. (addenda) 4. See also Jean Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance: recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1921), p. 55; Mango, 'Η Κωνσταντινούπολη', p. 19; Thomas Francis Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA, 1971), pp. 28–33; John Freely and Ahmet S. Çakmak, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 31–32, 62–63; Stephen J. Shoemaker, 'The Cult of the Virgin in the Fourth Century: A Fresh Look at Some Old and New Sources', in Chris Maunder (ed.), *The Origins of the Cult of Mary* (Tunbridge Wells, 2008), p. 72.

84 AASS November 3: 879 C ('εἰς τὸν τῆς πανυμνήτου ναὸν καὶ μὴ συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰς τὸν τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης σὺν γενεᾷ πάσῃ τέθαπται΄), 883D ('*ποιήσεται ὁρμὴν πρὸς τὸν την ἁγίας Ἄννης οἶκον εὐκτήριον'), 884B ('καὶ κρηπῖδα τοῦ τεμένους τῆς σεβασμίας Ἄννης κατεβάλετο')*.

85 Dewing and Downey (trans.), *On Buildings*, p. 41; Dindorf (ed.), *Procopius*, vol. 3, p. 185. In the fifth-century account of Aphroditianos of Persia on the birth of Christ, Mary ('Myria') is called 'πηγή ὕδατος' (= source / fountain of water); see PG 10: col. 100C.

86 PG 146–147: cols 72–73. Efthymiadis points that the edifice possible antedated Justinian I and that the emperor was probably responsible for its luxurious renovation; see Stephanos Efthymiadis, 'Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople et ses deux recueils de miracles. Entre hagiographie et patriographie', *REB*, 64–65 (2006–2007): p. 285.

87 Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts', *DOP*, 56 (2002): p. 157; Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art', *DOP*, 48 (1994): p. 135. For miracles performed on spot, see AASS November 3:878A-889D.

88 A *haghiasma* of St Anna was found in the church of Mouchliou and was built in the end of the thirteenth century in the courtyard of the church. See Nikos Atzemouglou, *Τ' αγιάσματα της Πόλης* (Athens, 1990), p. 30.

89 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 291.

90 Konstantin Horna, 'Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon', *WS*, 25 (1903): p. 190, no. XXVIII.

91 Janin, *La géographie*, p. 42 and n.1; Christine Angelidiand Titos Papamastorakes, 'Η μονή των Οδηγών και η λατρεία της Θεοτόκου Οδηγήτριας', in Maria Vassilake (ed.), *Μήτηρ Θεού: Απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη Βυζαντινή τέχνη* (Athens, 2000), pp. 380–381.

92 Bissera Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (Yale University Park, 2006), p. 121; Mango, 'Η Κωνσταντινούπολη', p. 19.

93 Preger (ed.), *Scriptores*, p. 223, 260; George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1984), pp. 96, 325–326; PG 157: col. 556A; Angelidi, 'Une texte', pp. 119–120; Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris, 1964), p. 220.

94 PG 146–7: col. 73. edo pp 80–82.

95 Angelidi, 'Une texte', p. 119. See also Talbot, 'Pilgrimage', p. 168; Angelidi and Papamastorakes, 'Η μονή των Οδηγών', p. 380.

96 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 20. Janin writes that the church of Anna in the Deuteron and the church dedicated to Mary mentioned in the *Synaxarion* were next to each other, which is not however implied in the text; see Raymond Janin, 'Deuteron, Triton et Pempton', *EO*, 35 (1936): p. 212.

97 Dindorf (ed.), *Procopius*, vol. 3, p. 327.

98 George H. Forsyth, 'The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian', *DOP*, 22 (1968): fig 2, no. O. The monastery of Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople was built in the fifth century and constituted together with the Pege, 'two of the major healing shrines in Constantinople'; see Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Constantinople and Its Healing Shrines', in Brigitte Pitarakis (ed.), *Life Is Short, Art Is Long the Art of Healing in Byzantium* (Instanbul, 2015), p. 79.

99 Krueger, 'Christian Piety', p. 292.

100 Paul Magdalino, 'Church, Bath and Diakonia in Medieval Constantinople', in Rosemary Morris (ed.), *Church and People in Byzantium: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester, 1986* (Birmingham, 1990), p. 173; Paul Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise and the "Macedonian Renaissance" Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology', *DOP*, 42 (1988): p. 113. This phenomenon is attested also outside Constantinople. In Cyrenaica (Libya) the church of Sozusa, which is in all likelihood connected with Justinian's building activities, the main church is attached to Byzantine baths; see John Bryan Ward-Perkings and Richard Georg Goodchild, *Christian Monuments of Cyrenaica*, Joyce Reynolds (ed.) (London, 2003), p. 37.

101 Robert Ousterhout, 'Sacred Geographies and Holy Cities: Constantinople as Jerusalem', in Aleskei Lidov (ed.), *Hierotopy: The Creation of Sacred Space in Byzantium and Medieval Russia* (Moscow, 2006), p. 106.

102 Ibid., p. 109.

103 Maria Cristina Carile, 'Constantinople and the Heavenly Jerusalem? Through the Imperial Palace', *RSBS*, 8 (2006): pp. 85–104. See also Krueger, 'Christian Piety', pp. 310–311.

104 Joseph D. Alchermes, 'Art and Architecture in the Age of Justinian', in Michael Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 358–359.

105 Reflection of St Anna's connection to healing through water and to her mother in a later period is attested in the fourteenth-century image of Anna and Joachim framing the Virgin as the Fountain of Life in the church of Afentiko in Mistras. See Melita Emmanuel, 'Religious Imagery in Mystra: Donors and Iconographic Programmes', in Michael Grünbart and Ewald Kislinger and Anna Muthesius and Dionysios Stathakopoulos (eds.), *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium: (400–1453); Proceedings of the International Conference (Cambridge, 8–10 September 2001)* (Vienna, 2007), p. 124.

106 Ihor Ševčenko (ed. and trans.), *Chronographiae Quae Theophanis Continuati Nomine Fertur Liber Quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris Amplectitur*, CFHB 42 (Berlin, 2011), pp. 268–270: 'Καὶ τὸν τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ καὶ τὸν τοῦ χριστομάρτυρος Δημητρίου καινούς ἀντὶ παλαιῶν καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς ἀπειργάσατο'.

107 Antony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington, DC, 1985), p. 218. For its location, see Raymond Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres Byzantins: Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique* (Paris, 1975), p. 254, no. 8 and for its history, see ibid., p. 257.

108 Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, pp. 218–219; Jan Olof Rosenqvist, 'Byzantine Trebizond: A Provincial Literary Landscape', in Ivo Volt and Janika Päll (eds.), *Byzantino-Nordica 2004: Papers Presented at the International Symposium of Byzantine Studies Held on 7–11 May 2004 in Tartu, Estonia*, Acta Societatis Morgensternianae 2 (Tartu, 2005), p. 34.

109 Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, p. 146: 18–19.

110 Jules Labarte, *Le palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords: Sainte-Sophie, le forum Augustéon et l'hippodrome, tels qu'ils existaitent au Dixième Siècle* (Paris, 1861); Johann Heinric Krause, *Deinokrates, oder Hütte, Haus und Palast, Dorf, Stadt und Residenz der alten Welt* (Jena, 1863); Alexandros Georgios Paspates, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, William Metcalf (trans.) (Paisley and London,1893) (enclosed maps); Jean Ebesolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance: recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1910); Rodolphen Guilland, *Études de topographie de Constantinople Byzantine* (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1969); Salvador Miranda, *Les palais des empéreurs byzantins* (Mexico, 1965).

111 Paspates, *The Great Palace*.

112 Ebesolt 1910; Krause, *Deinokrates*; Labarte, *Le palais*.

113 The rooms under discussion are located to the southern part of the Great Palace, to which of great contribution is the location of the Pharos and the Chrysotriklinos; see Jan Kostenec, 'The Heart of the Empire: The Great Palace of Byzantine Emperors Reconsidered', in Ken Dark (ed.), *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 2004), p. 23.

114 'Πρὸς δὲ τὸν νότον καὶ τοὺς νῦν ὄντας κήπους ποιήσας κουβούκλεια προσεδείματο, τόν τε Καμιλᾶν οὕτω λεγόμενον'. See Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, p. 144: 17–20.

115 Ibid., p. 144: 17–22.

116 The arrangement of space is important here. There will be no reference to internal decoration, only when it forfeits argumentation.

117 Kostenec, 'The Heart', p. 23.

118 'συνῳκοδομημένον ἔχει καὶ εὐκτήριον δύο περίεχον βήματα, ἓν μὲν εἰς ὄνομα τῆς . . . θεοτόκου, θάτερον δέ εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ', see Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, p. 145: 4–6.

119 Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), p. 1051; George Henry Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford and New York, 1996), p. 1348.

120 'ὑποβεβηκὸς δέ τούτου μεσόπατόν ἐστιν . . . οὗπερ τὸ ἀριστήριον αὖθίς ἐστιν', see Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, p. 145: 6–7, 10.

121 'Τὸ δέ μετὰ τὸν Καμιλᾶν κουβούκλειον δεύτερον', see ibid., p. 145: 12–13.

122 Ibid., p. 145: 14.

123 *Mesopata* refers to storeys that were in the middle of two rooms, because in another section the text refers to the mesopaton of the second kouvouklion, the one after Kamilas. See ibid., p. 145: 14–15.

124 'τό τούτῳ δέ ὑποβεβηκὸς, ὃ καὶ Μεσόπατος λέγεται', see ibid., p. 145: 18.

125 'Τὸ δέ τρίτον μετά τοῦ κουβουκλείου, τὸ καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀυγούστης βεστιάριον χρηματίζον', see Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, p. 145: 21.

126 'ὁμοίαν ἔχει τούτοις τὴν ὀροφὴν καὶ τοὔδαφος ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου Προικοννησίου κατεστρωμένον', see Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, p. 21.

127 'τὸ τούτῳ δέ ἡνωμένον καὶ συμπεφυκὸς κατώγεον', see ibid., p. 146: 2–3.

128 'Μουσικὸς οὗτος κατονομάζεται διὰ τὴν τῶν μαρμάρων ἀκριβῆ συγκοπήν', ibid., p. 146: 7–8.

129 'τούτῳ πρὸς μὲν δύσιν κατὰ πλευρὰν κουβούκλειον ἥνωται', see ibid., p. 146: 11.

130 Ibid., p. 146.18–19. 'ἕτερον δέ πρὸς πόδας τούτου ἐστίν, εἰς δύο μὲν δόμους διῃρημένον, τῳ Αὐγουστιακῷ δέ πλησιάζον κοιτῶνι·ἔνθα καὶ Λέων . . .]εὐκτήριον τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης ἐδείματο . . . . ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ τῆς Αὐγούστης πλησιάζει κοιτῶνι, ὡς ἔφαμεν'. For translation of this part, see Ebersolt, *Le grand palais*, pp. 116–117 and Mango, *The Art*, p. 205.

131 'ἐκεῖνο δέ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τοῦ Μουσικοῦ τὴν μὲν κάθοδον ἐν τῷ προρρηθέντι ἔχει κοιτῶνι διὰ κλίμακος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον', see Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, p. 146: 21–22.

132 Kostenec, 'The Heart', p. 23.

133 Labarte, *Le palais*, p. 239, no. 88.

134 Ihor Ševčenko (ed. and trans.), *Chronographiae Quae Theophanis Continuati Nomine Fertur Liber Quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris Amplectitur*, CFHB 42 (Berlin, 2011), pp. 268–270: 'Καὶ τὸν τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ καὶ τὸν τοῦ χριστομάρτυρος Δημητρίου καινούς ἀντὶ παλαιῶν καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς ἀπειργάσατο'.

135 Antony Bryer and David Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington, DC, 1985), p. 218. For its location, see Raymond Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres Byzantins: Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique* (Paris, 1975), p. 254, no. 8 and for its history, see ibid., p. 257.

136 Shaun Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People* (Leiden, 1997), p. 115.

137 Magdalino, 'The Bath', pp. 97–118; Angelidi, 'Une texte', p. 120.

138 Magdalino, 'The Bath', p. 105.

139 Johannes Koder, 'Justinians Sieg über Salomon', in *Thymiama ste mneme tes Laskarinas Boura* (Athens, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 137.

140 Gilbert, Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, Jean Birrell (trans.) (Cambridge, 2003), p. 212.

141 Ibid., p. 212.

142 PG 107: cols 1–12C, 12D-21A; Theodora Antonopoulou (ed.), *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini homiliae* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 221–231, 267–276.

143 PMZ # 463.

144 Flusin, 'L'empereur hagiographe', p. 41.

145 AASS November 3: 879 C: 'Καὶ ἡ Αὔγουστα Ζωὴ φεύγουσα . . . καὶ περὶ τέκνων ἀγωνιῶσα ὑπόμνησιν ἔλαβε περὶ τῶν τῆς πανάγνου θαυμάτων καὶ πλέγμα τι ἐκ μετάξης ἰσόμηκες τῆς ἐικόνος τῆς θεομήτορος . . . διαμετρήσασα καὶ περιζωσάμενη τοῦτο, τῇ προμηθείᾳ ταύτης Κωνσταντῖνος τὸν ἀοίδιμον βασιλέα συνέλαβεν'.

146 Tougher, *The Reign*, p. 37.

147 Patricia Karlin-Hayter, 'Vita S. Euthymii', *Byz*, 25–27 (1955–1957): pp. 68–69: 'ἀπαραμύθητος θλῖψις γενομένη τῷ βασιλεῖ'. See also Tougher, *The Reign*, p. 151, n. 94. Tougher's reference to the life of St Euthymios on Eudokia's death (VE 63:13–4) is wrong; the correct quote for the translated text is VE 69:13–14.

148 Tougher, *The Reign*, p. 146.

149 Eirini Panou, 'Mary's Parents in Homilies before and after James Kokkinobaphos', in Antony Eastmond and Elizabeth James (eds.), *Wonderful Things, Byzantium through Its Art (42nd Symposium of Byzantine Studies, King's College, London and Courtauld Institute, March 2009)* (Ashgate, 2013), pp. 283–294.

150 PG 107: col. 4B, 5C. In the life of Stephen the Younger, the mother of the saint prays in the church for a male child, although she already had a daughter. See chapter 2.

151 Antonopoulou (ed.), *Leonis*, p. 225.

152 Tougher, *The Reign*, pp. 136, 147.

153 Ibid., p. 64.

154 Theodora Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 45–46.

155 Ibid., p. 47.

156 See chapter 2, this volume.

2 Relics – feasts – society

The cult of St Anna began to gain ground in the eighth century, when a textual 'debate' over the acquisition of her relics among various cities confirmed the first signs of her veneration in Eastern Christendom. This development was reinforced by the introduction of several feasts into the Church calendar, and also by the attribution of certain ideological associations to Anna's namesakes. In the qualities attributed to women named Anna in hagiography and history one can discern unexplored aspects, related not only to childbirth – with which Anna's cult was primarily linked – but also to the demonstration of faith by women who served as staunch defenders of Orthodoxy.

Part I. *Relics*

St Anna's relics are a precarious research topic. As her cult was far more widespread than Joachim's, the sources on her relics outnumber those on her husband's: in itself this does not of course hinder research, but problems arise with the contradictory information found in primary sources and with biased scholarly views. For example, there are two written sources that mention the presence of St Anna's relics in Constantinople (the tenth-century *Patria of Constantinopl*e and a sixteenth-century description of the Pammakaristos church), which are quite clear in the evidence they provide for the date or the way Anna's relics were acquired, both in the East and in the West.[1] Nevertheless, Western scholars such as Cré, Guérin, Mathieu and Gharland follow a rather speculative line of argument on the matter, since, on the one hand, there is only one (possibly unreliable) Western primary source dated earlier than the *Patria* (the inventory of Sant'Angelo Pescheria in Rome) that supports the existence of Anna's relics on Western soil and, on the other hand, they often exclude the Byzantine sources mentioned above in their discussion of St Anna's relics. In an attempt to reconcile the two divergent approaches, this section will survey sources and scholarly views pertaining to the reconstruction of the history of Anna's relics, will show the routes followed by the saint's relics and will suggest the most probable candidate cities for the actual acquisition of her relics.

The scholarly views have been organized into four groups, according to the routes that the scholars believe the relics to have followed. The first group comprises nineteenth-century French scholars, who rely on dubious material evidence

as well as historical events to argue that St Anna's relics were located in the Probatike or else that they were brought from Palestine to the town of Apt in France during the first century. Moreover, they claim that it is in Apt that the relics appeared for the first time after they were moved from Palestine and that they were revealed there in the eighth century. According to the second group, the relics first appeared in Constantinople and then in Rome in the eighth century. The third group proposes a different route, from Trebizond (Pontos) or Palestine to Mount Athos. According to this last group, the relics reached Constantinople and from there were dispersed to Europe. It should be noted that the groups are not always presented in the sequence mentioned here, because evidence can be used to support the views of two groups simultaneously. For example, the presence of Anna's relics in France in the thirteenth century simultaneously confirms that until then the relics were located in Constantinople, whence they were taken during the sack of the city by the Latins in 1204. An examination of this topic begins with Palestine, the place where St Anna lived and where, as sources claim, she died.

First group: Palestine – St Anna's relics in the Probatike

Pilgrims who, from the sixth century onwards, recorded Mary's birth in the Probatike made no mention of the existence of St Anna's relics in Palestine before the Latin conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. Epiphanios, a monk in the Kallistratou monastery in Constantinople (800),[2] the only surviving source to identify the place where Anna died, writes: 'Anna left Nazareth to meet her daughter Mary in Jerusalem, where she [Anna] died at the age of seventy-two'.[3] No other text provides information on Anna's death or relics but despite the lack of evidence, scholars have nonetheless attempted to connect the saint's relics with the Probatike.

As already shown in chapter 1, the Probatike was identified in the sixth century as the place where Mary was born. In 1839, the French scholar and excavator of the Probatike, Léon Cré, established a further connection between the parents of Mary and the Probatic Pool, when he argued that this was also the place where Anna and Joachim were buried.[4] Relying heavily on pilgrims' accounts from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries and on the tradition that identified the location as Mary's birthplace, Cré argued that the tombs of Anna and Joachim were located in the crypt under the still extant basilica of St Anna by the Probatic Pool, without explaining, however, how this connection proves that their relics were also in this location.[5] His dating of the crypt to the Constantinian era, his contextualization of the architecture as having a 'mystic connection' provided by symbols of matrimony,[6] and his reconstruction of the early history of the crypt, relying on post-twelfth-century pilgrim accounts, offer more confusion than insight into the history of Anna's relics and misinterpret the history of the monument. As a member of the White Fathers, who sponsored the excavation of the Probatic Pool and have had charge of the monument until the present day, Cré extended the importance of the Probatike by merging its sixth-century reputation as Mary's birthplace with her parents' death. In doing so, the circle of life of Christ's grandparents began and found completion in a single monument.

Second group: from Palestine to France

French scholars have also claimed that while Charlemagne was returning from Italy in 776, after he had successfully crushed the Lombard conspiracy to throw off Frankish domination, he visited Apt and spent Easter there. Here, on 17 April, he was shown the relics of St Anna in the presence of his court.[7] The discovery of Anna's body in Apt is said to have taken place in the first century, when it was supposedly taken from Jerusalem to France. We are told by nineteenth-century scholars, such as Guérin and Mathieu, that it was transferred by St Lazarus of Bethany and Mary Magdalene and hidden in a cave in Apt by St Auspice, the first-century bishop of the town.[8] It is not known what happened to the body between the first and the eighth centuries but it was probably kept hidden. As to why Lazarus and Mary Magdalene were chosen to deal with Anna's body, one must conclude that it was because of Jesus's love for them, referred to in the *Gospel of John* (11:5),[9] that they were permitted to dispose of the body of his grandmother. In the early twentieth century, Gharland reported that Mary Magdalene herself entrusted the body of St Anna to St Auspice.[10]

The story is further elaborated. Mathieu argued that in order to commemorate the burial of Anna's relics in Apt, St Castor built a church between 400 and 419, which he dedicated to Mary (*sanctae Mariae sedis Aptensis*).[11] The relics were then rediscovered during Charlemagne's reign, verified by the fact that on the ceiling over the recess where the body lay there are two decorative slabs with carved letters – which will be discussed shortly – from the eighth or ninth century.[12] Following Gharland, Ronan supported the truth of the story behind Anna's relics in Apt by arguing that St Anna's name was first inserted into Carolingian litanies, and because Charlemagne sent a letter to Pope Hadrian (772–795), in which the Latin emperor declared the authenticity of the saint's relics.[13] But as Ronan himself admits, these documents are 'not authentic' and the documents relating to the Carolingian liturgy mentioned above 'have not yet been found'.[14] Nevertheless, the names of St Anna and St Elisabeth appear in a tenth-century edition of Carolingian litanies; thus if we accept that this reflects earlier liturgical traditions,[15] Gharland's view may have some historical foundation. But Didier, who explained that the church of Mary was constructed in Apt as a result of the Council of Ephesus (431), where Mary was acclaimed Theotokos, believes that the association of the same church with Charlemagne derives only from its reconstruction during Charlemagne's reign.[16] The deliberate attempt of nineteenth-century scholars to link St Anna's relics with Charlemagne is clear, although each one finds a different way to support this connection. Also in the nineteenth century, Gabriel de Bessonies provided a different version of the route of Anna's relics from the Holy Land to France: during her sojourn in the Holy Land, St Helen requested that a part of St Anna's relics be transferred to Constantinople and another part remain in the Holy Land, but that the body and especially the head be given to the bishop of Apt.[17] It will be shown later, that Gabriel de Bessonies mixed traditions, yet some of them were considered reliable enough to establish the authenticity of the story.

The construction of the church of Mary in Apt is not questioned in this book, nor is the existence of the tombs, where the first bishops of Apt were buried, beneath it.[18] It is the location of St Anna's relics under this church that is contradicted by a great deal of evidence. Firstly, the life of St Auspice survives in two manuscripts from the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, where it is said that he was buried in Apt and his body was miraculously discovered during Charlemagne's reign in 750.[19] This makes his connection with Apt and Charlemagne no earlier than the eighth century; it might also be a thirteenth-century fabrication. Secondly, in the *Charter of the Church of Apt*, which extends chronologically from the ninth to the twelfth centuries (835–1130),[20] there is no reference to St Anna or her relics at any time during the ninth century. A donation was made to the churches of Mary and St Castor on 9 April 896 but there is no mention of the relics of any saint, and no connection is made with Charlemagne.[21] In Didier's version of the charter of Apt, under the dates 17 July 835 and 4 July 852, the same dedication to Mary and St Castor appears, but again there is no mention or connection of Anna's relics with Charlemagne.[22] Gharland published the charter that refers to the event, which it dates to 1532;[23] it is thus a much later source. Thirdly, the fact that the revelation of the relics before Charlemagne took place one century before the charter was composed cannot be used as evidence for the existence of Anna's relics in Apt by the eighth century. Fourthly, the two marble slabs that Mathieu refers to are chancel slabs, which retain only floral and geometrical decoration and contain no inscription that could suggest a specific date. Fifthly, the inscription that Mathieu refers to is not found on these slabs but on an inscribed column that stands in the middle of the crypt under the cathedral of Apt commemorating the name of Caius Allius Celer, a priest of Apt, which can still be seen today. Lastly, the fact that a church with eighth- or ninth-century slabs accompanying a tomb was erected in the name of Virgin Mary proves neither the presence of Anna's relics nor the date of their translation.

The use of the crypt for burials promoted the tradition of a saint's relics, but why Anna? And why Apt in particular? The answer lies in the French participation in the first Crusade. As Elsberg and Guest have noted: 'The Bishop of Apt is mentioned in the history of the first Crusade, and Raimbadu de Simiane and Guillaume de Simiane, lords of Apt, are named as having taken part in it'.[24] During the sack of Jerusalem in the first Crusade, a textile of Egyptian origin dating back to 1096–7[25] was transferred from Jerusalem to the cathedral of Apt, where it was opened in the twentieth century and was named 'the veil of St Anna of Apt'.[26] What the eleventh-century bishop of Apt probably had in mind was to establish the authority of the French over the veil 'provided' to him by the first bishop of Apt, who had allegedly buried the body of the saint. The name given to the veil suggests that in the twentieth century the Westerners resumed their post-1204 practice of taking relics to support the authenticity of other relics,[27] because there is nothing to prove that this 'pseudo-veil' belonged to St Anna.[28] The inscriptions found on the veil do not relate to the saint: rather they refer to El Musta'lî (1094–1101) and El Afdal, the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt and his minister.[29] Didier believes that a part of Anna's body was transferred to the cathedral of Apt, which became an important

pilgrimage centre,[30] but there is nothing to suggest that this event took place before the first Crusade. The interest of the West in St Anna, which was expressed in the construction of a church dedicated to St Anna in the proximity of the Probatike in the twelfth century, along with the traditions that arose around her burial, seems to be the case here. As Virginia Nixon has shown in her study of the cult of St Anna in the West, by the twelfth century the cult had been established in Jerusalem, shown in the construction of a church at the Probatike and Sepphoris by the Crusaders.[31] Nixon's view agrees with what is suggested here, namely that the interest in St Anna and the desire of scholars to include France in the history of the saint's relics resulted in the creation of the 'Aptian tradition', which goes back to the activities of the Crusaders in the twelfth century and in the perpetuation of this connection between the cult of the saint and France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

However, the presence of Anna's relics in France is mentioned in the archives of Chartres Cathedral, which records that Countess Catherine took the head of St Anna from Constantinople in 1204 and brought it to France, where she built a church to house the saint's relics.[32] The interest in Anna is the result of the 'Chartrian Marian devotion' demonstrated by the introduction of the feast of Mary's Nativity in the thirteenth century, which became the patronal feast of Chartres Cathedral.[33] At the same time this account proves the existence of parts of Anna's body in the Byzantine capital. Du Cange records the thirteenth-century translation in his brief commentary on the palace chapel of Leo VI dedicated to St Anna, where he also refers to the history of the saint's church in the Deuteron.[34] Du Cange possibly believed that Anna's relics were associated with both churches. In any case, the archives of Chartres Cathedral constitute the first documentary source to allude to the presence of Anna's relics in the Byzantine capital. Although it remains no more than a textual reference, which does not prove that the actual translation took place, it certainly fits well with the information provided in the *Patria* referring to the existence of the saint's relics in tenth-century Constantinople.

Third group: the relics in Constantinople and Rome – the* Patria *and scholarly views

Apart from France, two other cities claim the relics of St Anna. Relying on the *Patria of Constantinople*, scholars have argued that the relics were first brought to the Byzantine capital and from there they were transferred to Rome.

The translation according to the Patria

Bodies of saints were valued as one of the most precious means of God's intercession among the faithful. As has been argued, 'while saints or the Virgin were the favoured mediators between earth and heaven, the most auspicious loci of transmission were physical – the body of the saints or objects that they had touched'.[35] The emperor Justinian II is credited with the translation of St Anna's body to Constantinople during either his first (685–695) or second reign (705–711). The *Patria* describes the process: 'And then he [Justinian II] built the church of St Anna, because his wife was

pregnant and she had a vision of the saint. But also the omophorion of the saint and [her] holy body entered the city in his time'.[36] Justinian II brought the relics of St Anna to Constantinople and dedicated a church in her honour to house the saint's body and omophorion. We are not told the location precisely, but it is implied that it was in the quarter of the Deuteron, since a short history of the quarter precedes the relic account. Gedeon, relying on Prokopios's account that Justinian I constructed the church of St Anna in the Deuteron, suggested that the body of the saint was deposited in that church during Justinian's time.[37] His view is plausible as it is known that Justinian I was 'interested in gathering relics',[38] and according to the eighth-century Barberini *Euchologion*, during church consecrations the placing of relics in the sanctuary was essential,[39] as it 'was impossible in Byzantium to introduce a new saint into the liturgy without the deposition of their relics or at least a brandeum'.[40] The seventh canon of the second council of Nicaea (787) mentions this rite as one of the 'customs that heretics have abandoned and that now should be renewed',[41] which, however, refers to the prohibition of the placing of relics on the altar imposed by the Iconoclasts and not to a practice abandoned by the church.[42] Gedeon assumes that the writer/editor of the *Patria* merged the construction of Justinian I with the relic translation of Justinian II. However, even though the merging of stories of various periods is a recurrent phenomenon in the *Patria*,[43] Majeska is correct in rejecting Gedeon's view due to insufficient evidence.[44] Since there is no sound evidence that the relics of St Anna were transferred to the church of the Deuteron during the reign of Justinian I, other more plausible suggestions can be made about the times and places her relics were transferred, both to and from Constantinople.

A reliquary from Mount Athos points to the interest in the relics, not of St Anna, but of Joachim. According to Mathews and Dandridge, a tenth-century reliquary in the Great Lavra on Mount Athos depicts saints whose relics were venerated in Constantinople.[45] But, as its publishers argue, the problem with this reliquary is that although Joachim's bust is included, the busts of Anna, Mary and even Christ are not.[46] We do not know to what extent respect was paid to the relics of St Joachim in the capital, but certainly we cannot disregard the fact that even though the relics of Mary and Christ are not included, the choice of saints might have been motivated by the donor's personal desire to include saints with whom he/she personally felt connected. For example, the donor may well have been a namesake of St Joachim, a devotee seeking the grace of Joachim, a childless male, or a father entreating Joachim to protect his child(ren) after his death. It has been argued that a 'cessation in relic-importation' to the capital is attested to from the time of Heraklios until the period of the Macedonian emperors.[47] An unpublished list of relics that entered Constantinople compiled by Nancy Ševčenko confirms this view, especially that the largest number of relics entered the Byzantine capital in the tenth century. However, the relics of St Anna or Joachim are not included in it.[48] In any case, although the reliquary does not shed light on the account in the *Patria* of the arrival of Anna's relics in Constantinople, it certainly does not contradict it, since, as the archives of Chartres Cathedral make clear, an earlier eighth-century introduction of her relics into the Byzantine capital, suggested by the *Patria*, is certainly not implausible. This is what the third group of scholars advocate.

The translation from Constantinople to Rome: scholarly views and evidence

Bannister, Kleinschmidt and Avery locate the relics of St Anna in the eighth century first in Constantinople and then in Rome. Bannister in particular, followed by Kleinschmidt, rejected the notion that the relics were first seen in Apt and accepted the truth of the account in the *Patria*, which he elaborated. He writes that Justinian II sent an invitation to Pope Constantine (708–715) to visit Constantinople and that during his stay the Pope had the chance to attend the translation himself.[49] Constantine was so impressed by the whole process that, when he returned to Rome, he commissioned depictions of St Anna in Santa Maria Antiqua.[50] Avery expanded this argument, assuming that Pope Constantine brought a relic of St Anna with him to Rome from Constantinople, which explained – as she argues – the depiction of Sts Anna, Elisabeth and Mary as the holy mothers in Santa Maria Antiqua.[51] Logic would suggest that if it were only the relics of St Anna, a single portrait would have been enough, as the depiction of three mothers implies that the relics of Elisabeth and Mary were also translated to Santa Maria Antiqua.

Bannister and Kleinschmidt connect the relics of St Anna in eighth-century Rome with two other monuments, Sant'Angelo in Pescheria and San Nicola in Carcere. Although they provide no evidence of the way the relics were acquired by the former, they argue that in the second half of the eighth century, during the church's restoration by Theodotus,[52] St Anna's relics were venerated in the church of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, because in the church's inventory the names of Anna and Elisabeth are listed first after those of male saints, as will be discussed below. To support the case for the veneration of the saint in the eighth century, Bannister and Kleinschmidt have claimed that cardinal Mai discovered an inscription belonging to the church of San Nicola in Carcere where a donation to this church in honour of St Anna is mentioned.[53] Bannister, Kleinschmidt and Avery base their arguments on the *Patria*, an inventory list, an inscription and iconography. As reliable as this evidence might seem, certain aspects of their arguments need to be re-examined.

Firstly, there is no consistency between the date of the translation that Bannister suggests (no earlier than 710),[54] and the execution of the fresco of St Anna in Santa Maria Antiqua. The fresco was supposedly executed during the papacy of Paul I (757–767),[55] despite the account of *Liber Pontificalis*, where Pope John VII (705–707) is considered responsible for the decoration of the church of Santa Maria Antiqua.[56] Nevertheless, both in the *Liber Pontificalis* and in the account of Paul the Deacon there is no mention of St Anna's relics.[57] As far as the church of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria is concerned, the inventory writes 'Sancta Anna Sancta Elisabet Sancta Euphumia'.[58] Examples from art, to be discussed in chapter 3, show that when St Anna is paired with a female saint named Elisabeth, such as in the tenth-century Pala d'Oro in Venice, it is the mother of John the Baptist who is referred to and not the martyr.[59] Numerous iconic portraits confirm that Anna is always placed next to the wife of Zacharias. But even if they are actually the relics of Mary's mother and cousin, their presence in eighth-century Rome is not surprising, considering that the imagery of the three Mothers in Santa Maria Antiqua may well have reflected the

popular expression of respect paid to the female ancestors of Christ. On a broader level, the presence of St Anna's relics in Rome is not surprising, because from 790 onwards relics received increasing official support, and the translation around 800 conforms to the characterization of Western devotion at that time as 'relic-based'.[60]

As far as San Nicola in Carcere is concerned, however, Bannister relied on Kleinschmidt, who misread the inscription.[61] The correct reading, as published by cardinal Mai, is 'sancte (sic) Anna sanctus Simeon',[62] and it refers to Anna the Prophetess, whom we know from the Entry of Christ into the Temple (Luke 2:36). The presence of St Anna's relics in San Nicola in Carcere is a scholarly attempt to locate the relics in Rome rather than a reasonable conclusion from reliable evidence. In contrast to San Nicola in Carcere, the inventory of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria constitutes, together with the archives of Chartres Cathedral, the most reliable evidence that Anna's relics are not necessarily the product of literary imagination.

The relics in Constantinople in the sixteenth century: the Pammakaristos church

Our knowledge of the presence of St Anna's relics in Constantinople is drawn from three texts: the *Patria*, the archives of Chartres Cathedral and the sixteenth-century inventory of the Pammakaristos church in Constantinople. The first two have already been discussed. The Pammakaristos inventory ('καὶ ἔχει τὸ λείψανον Εὐφημί(ας) καὶ Ἄννης τῆς μ(ητ)ρ(ὸ)ς τῆς Θ(εοτό)κου')[63] constitutes the last piece of information on the saint's relics in Constantinople, and the word 'λείψανον' implies that we are dealing with a part of the body,[64] rather than the whole body transferred by Justinian II. In contrast to Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, the Pammakaristos church inventory explicitly mentions the mother of the Virgin, who here too is joined with St Euphemia, a connection made only in relics but missing from texts and artistic representations. The placing of the relics in the Pammakaristos, which continued to function as a church after the Turkish occupation of Constantinople in 1453,[65] shows the importance for Christianity of saving the relics of the Virgin's mother and possibly of a tradition around St Anna which had started long before the sixteenth century. According to an inscription in the sanctuary, Anna Dukas and her husband John Komnenos, possibly a court official who died in 1067, built the Pammakaristos[66] and were responsible for small-scale patronage, as the word 'φρόντισμα' suggests.[67] Commissions by women named Anna or by husbands whose wives had the same name were a frequent phenomenon that usually preceded childbirth or a request for the protection of the family in life and death.

Fourth group: from Trebizond to Athos

The final location connected with the relics of St Anna is Mount Athos, where the saint's left foot was taken in the seventeenth century.[68] Smyrnakes argues that this translation was initiated by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1641–1707), known for his *Dodekabiblos* (Twelve Books), which concerns the history of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

According to Smyrnakes, Anna's foot reached Athos on 26 October 1686.[69] A cleric furnished with a piece of paper (the content of which is not mentioned) from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople travelled to Armenia, to the city or Theodosioupolis (modern Erzurum in Turkey), where in the church of Sts Menas, Viktor and Vikentios various relics were kept. The cleric bought the foot of St Anna to prevent it from 'falling into the hands of a non-believer'.[70] He verified its authenticity by receiving a certificate from the metropolitan of Caesarea-Cappadocia, Epiphanios and of Chaldia, Sylvestros, whose signatures appear on this document, as the cleric claims, but not the date of the purchase. Then two Arab archpriests ('αρχιερέων') appear in the story (they are also referred to later in the story as two 'people from Asia') who said that they were from Antioch; they bought the foot from the cleric, brought it to the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos and asked him what they were to do with it. Dositheos, whose mother was named Anna, 'inclined to this location' (i.e. Athos), and told them (the two Arab priests) to build a church in the name of St Anna and to dedicate the foot there. When these two 'people from Asia' were touring the Holy Mountain for alms, they stayed with Matthew of Mytilene, who bought the foot and the certificate from them.[71]

The historical setting of the discovery of St Anna's relics in Theodosioupolis is not accidental. It shows that the three Patriarchates of Constantinople, Jerusalem and Antioch were targeting Theodosioupolis, which was part of the jurisdiction of the see of Trebizond that from 1461 belonged to the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople established by Mehmet II.[72] In 1670, the bishop of Theodosioupolis was reproved by the Patriarch of Constantinople for claiming revenues that belonged to Trebizond.[73] The facts that the relics of St Anna were kept in Theodosioupolis and their discovery was an initiative of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (which received the approval of the Patriarch of Jerusalem) and they were brought by two priests from Antioch may well be seen as another expression of the rivalry between the Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch and Constantinople and the see of Theodosioupolis. The relics received the approval of the Metropolitan of Caesarea-Cappadocia, which belonged to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Metropolitan of Chaldia, which belonged to the see of Trebizond but was raised to an autonomous archbishopric during the first half of the seventeenth century, during the prelacy of Sylvestros.[74] The metropolitans of Trebizond reacted strongly but unsuccessfully against the secession of the province of Chaldia. In presenting Theodosioupolis as a region under the sway of Constantinople, the text expresses Constantinople's negativity towards the independence of Chaldia at the expense of Trebizond.

There is, however, an additional and much earlier connection between Trebizond and St Anna's relics. In the church of St Anna in Trebizond, which was built in the ninth century but retains mural decoration from a later period,[75] the unique scene of the Dormition of Joachim and Anna survives above a small door that leads to the prothesis.[76] Under Joachim's tomb we find the request of the priest and donor Nikephoros for commemoration.[77] Although the depiction is undated, Bryer and Winfield have noted that 'we are dealing with a funerary chapel of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries';[78] thus the scene probably dates to the same period at

the very earliest. It was mentioned in chapter 1 that Basil I rebuilt this church, so it is tempting to think that Basil's reconstruction was associated with the translation of Anna's relics to Trebizond during his reign; however, due to lack of evidence this can be no more than a hypothesis.

Apart from Smyrnakes's account, the presence of Anna's left foot in Athos is confirmed by other seventeenth-century sources, in particular French travellers, who recorded seeing St Anna's foot during their visit to the Holy Mountain, which had been transported from Palestine, either from Choziba or Nazareth.[79] The latter reference was certainly not inadvertent. Nazareth was the place where, according to the sixth-century Armenian version of the *Protevangelion*, Mary was born,[80] a tradition perpetuated by Epiphanios the Monk, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, the homilist Peter of Argos and the church-historian Nikephoros Kallistos.[81] Additionally, Choziba (Jericho) is where Epiphanios Hagiopolites (a different person from Epiphanios the Monk),[82] locates the house of Joachim.[83] The seventeenth-century travellers may have been aware of Palestinian traditions but not of the story of the acquisition of the relics from Armenia, because it was a fictional story after all. Other fictional stories include the one concerning Paul Tagaris Palaiologos, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who in 1380 donated a foot of St Anna to the Cathedral of Ancona. This seems to be 'another figment of Paul's fertile imagination' since in this text an unknown son, Alexios Palaiologos the Despot, appears as the son of the emperor of Constantinople.[84] And John Mandeville's (fourteenth-century) statement that in 'Constantinople lies Saint Anna, our Lady's mother, whom Saint Helen brought from Jerusalem'[85] blends aspects of the relic stories discussed above with those relating to St Helen, a benefactor of Jerusalem.

Until the thirteenth century, the inventory list from Sant'Angelo in Pescheria in Italy and the archives of Chartres Cathedral in France refer to the existence of the saint's relics outside Constantinople. The archives of Chartres Cathedral conform to the evidence of the *Patria* in this matter and although it is difficult to argue with certainty whether the translation actually took place under Justinian II, or Basil in Trebizond, it is nevertheless verified by the fact that they were located in the Great Palace until the thirteenth century and in the Pammakaristos church in the sixteenth century. Moreover, the chronological setting for the translation in the eighth century, which coincides with the emerging cult of Mary's parents in Constantinople and the appearance of the relics in Rome, shows that the *Patria* account is in accordance with eighth-century religious trends in both Constantinople and Rome. The iconography of the church of St Anna in Trebizond and Athos and the account of Dositheos refer to the existence of the relics in Trebizond and we know that Anna's left foot was transferred to Athos in the seventeenth century, where it remains today.

Conclusions

Kleinschmidt has correctly argued that it is impossible to track all the destinations and places of origin of the saints' relics.[86] In this chapter, I have explored the conditions and areas in which St Anna and St Joachim's relics appeared between the

eighth and seventeenth centuries. The inventories of Chartres Cathedral (thirteenth century) and the Pammakaristos church (sixteenth century) demonstrate that the relics of St Anna were in Constantinople by 1204 and this is where the historicity of the *Patria* lies. As to Justinian's II translation, we assume that the editor of the *Patria* located the relics of the saint in St Anna's church in the Deuteron, the construction of which is confirmed by Prokopios. And although the presence of the relics in the Byzantine capital is confirmed by the inventory of Chartres Cathedral and the Pammakaristos, it is impossible to trace the route of the relics from and to Constantinople in the period after the eighth and before the sixteenth century.

Outside the Byzantine capital, in Rome, the inventory of San Nicola in Carcere shows that there is a strong possibility that a relic of St Anna was located there before the thirteenth century, although it is usually after 1204 that relics from the East appear in the West.[87] The Latins occupied Jerusalem in 1099 and thereafter there were increasing attempts to accommodate the saint's past by constructing churches and inventing stories about her relics. In order to emphasize the immediate relationship of the Latins, and particularly of the French, with Christ, the translation of St Anna's relics was deemed to have occurred in first-century Apt, where Mary Magdalene, who was the first to see Christ's risen body, had hidden them. Religious and political prejudices emerged in the nineteenth century as a continuation of the Latin appropriation of locations that could be linked with Christ's life. And although the connection with Christ's life was intended, a correlation between the relics of St Anna or Joachim with those of the Virgin has never been made, apart from the origins of both in Nazareth,[88] which is a point of reference for the genealogy of Christ. Finally, there are no texts that connect St Anna's relics with the Virgin's.

Apart from Rome, France, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Trebizond and Athos, the presence of parts of the saint's body has also been recorded in Cyprus. The right arm of Anna is mentioned between 1449 and 1450 by Stephen of Gumpenberg, and in 1485 by Felix Fabri.[89] In none of these references is a body part mentioned more than once, which supports the considerable historicity of the account in the *Patria* that the translation of the whole body took place in the eighth century and the body was dismembered at a later period. We are told about her left foot, her head, her right arm, her omophorion. The only case where we are not informed about a specific part of the body is a fourteenth-century icon, which was offered by Anna Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina to her brother Ioasaph, abbot of the monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora.[90] St Anna is one of the saints whose image is accompanied by a small opening where the relics would have been kept.[91] This icon proves that the relics of Anna were not only venerated in fourteenth-century Byzantium, but were also offered as precious gifts. The Meteora icon makes it more likely that the tenth-century reliquary from Athos was commissioned by a man named Joachim, just as the female donor of the Meteora icon was named Anna Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina.

It has been shown that the acquisition of relics is an expression of popular devotion, since it presupposes the acknowledgement by the local church and society of the person's sanctity, which ultimately disseminates the saint's cult in society.[92]

In this respect, the relics of Mary's parents are a central feature of their cult, as it is the first example of material culture that shows the dissemination of their cult across a broad social spectrum. Thus, though disentangling the history of St Anna's relics is difficult, this survey has shown that all accounts lead to a straightforward conclusion: the acquisition of her relics was prompted by the popular wish to sanctify her cult in eighth-century Constantinople and Rome.

Part II. *Feasts*

By the tenth century, the *Protevangelion of James* had inspired the inclusion of three feasts into the Church calendar of Constantinople: Mary's Conception (by Anna), the Nativity of Mary and the Entry of Mary into the Temple. These three events, recorded only in the *Protevangelion*, not only constitute official commemorations of Mary's childhood, also acknowledge her parents' contribution to the work of the *Divine Oikonomia*.

In her work on Marian homilies, Cunningham argued that 'it is difficult to reconstruct the history of the introduction of special feast days in honour of Mary into the liturgical calendar, owing to the lack of liturgical and historical sources about the period approximately before the ninth century'.[93] Nevertheless, scholars have argued in favour of the inclusion of Marian feasts as early as the seventh century, which has led to conflicting views on the date when these feasts actually began to be celebrated in the Byzantine capital. For this book, church calendars provide the most authoritative evidence for the establishment of these feast days, whereas homilies and hymns only reveal a movement toward this end:[94] as we do not know where they were delivered, some of the homilies might simply reflect provincial liturgical traditions.[95] For this reason calendars, rather than the giving of homilies, will be considered conclusive enough to verify the disseminated celebration of Mary's early life in the Byzantine capital.

The Conception of St Anna/the Kissing of Joachim and Anna: significance of the feast

According to the *Protevangelion*, Anna was unable to conceive for many years; thus after the rejection of their gifts by the High Priest, she and her husband prayed until an angel announced to them that Anna would conceive a child.[96] In Byzantine homilies the Conception of Anna is regarded as 'the beginning and the reason of all goods and that is why respect should be paid and one should rejoice', writes George of Nikomedia in the ninth century.[97] The tenth-century Patriarch Euthymios wonders whether there is a Marian feast greater than the Conception of Anna, when Mary's parents were going to give birth to the one who gave birth to the creator of heaven and earth.[98] The same concept is attested to in Andrew Levadenos's fourteenth-century iamb on Mary's Nativity,[99] where Andrew writes that of the all feasts which honour the child of the Virgin, this is the most important.[100] Levadenos's comment underlines the two central doctrines for the celebration of Anna's Conception and cult in Byzantium, Mariology and Christology. Mary's

conception by Anna confirmed the salvation of humanity, prepared for the advent of Christ and led to the freedom of humanity from sin with the destruction of Adam and Eve, a concept already seen in the sixth-century Nativity *kontakion* of Romanos the Melodist. However, despite references of homilists suggesting otherwise, the feast was not celebrated as widely as the Nativity and the Entry of the Virgin.

Scholarly views on the development of the feast

According to Kyriakopoulos, the feast became known after 860 from the homiletic work of George of Nikomedia.[101] In fact Kyriakopoulos sees a tendency in hymnology from the fifth century onwards to establish the feast, but provides no conclusive evidence for this.[102] Graef, relying on the work of Andrew of Crete, maintained that the feast was established at the end of the sixth or in the course of the seventh century,[103] possibly, it seems, due to the desire of Eastern theologians to complete the cycle of Marian feasts.[104] However, Andrew of Crete lived at the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century, not in the sixth century. Similarly, Jugie – relying on Andrew of Crete – argues that the feast was celebrated in the seventh century in some areas.[105] Jugie associates the feast with the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, although he acknowledges the different treatment of this issue by the Eastern and the Western Church.[106] Cunningham, following Jugie, acknowledges the importance of the homiletic activity of Andrew of Crete or of Kosmas Vestitor as proof of the existence of the feast, but argues that the earliest evidence for the celebration of the Conception is an eighth-century homily by John of Euboea, when the feast was 'not widely celebrated or even known'.[107] Cunningham repeats a view that was first expressed by Amann, who saw the homilies of John of Euboea as testimony to the celebration of Anna's Conception.[108]

One of the feasts that John of Euboea records in his homily on the Nativity of Mary is the Conception of Anna, but, as Cunningham has argued, his choice of feasts 'reflects the liturgical rite of a provincial, rather than Constantinopolitan, parish', because the Entry of Mary and Palm Sunday are excluded.[109] Or, as this book will argue, this could be because the Entry was introduced a century after John of Euboea. I should note that the late widespread celebration of the Conception (if it ever reached that point) one century after John of Euboea is implied by George of Nikomedia's first sermon on the Conception of Anna, which is dedicated to the message ('χρηματισμόν') the homilist wishes to convey to his congregation[110] to explain the theological significance of the feast. George of Nikomedia writes that the feast was celebrated 'majestically',[111] which of course does not mean that it was in fact universally celebrated in the ninth century. The reference to a feast as being of majestic character is a recurring motif in Byzantine homiletics, as first mentioned by Pseudo-John of Damaskos and Andrew of Crete in their Nativity homilies. We are more inclined to think that for George of Nikomedia the feast *should* be celebrated in a majestic way because of its importance for the soteriological work of God, as shown at the beginning of this section. To support this view, Euthymios of Constantinople (tenth century) informs us that the feast of Anna's Conception was still considered a minor one.[112] Thus it is apparent that

the Eastern Church never accepted the Conception of St Anna as a major Marian feast, and that it remained secondary compared with other feasts of the life of Mary.[113] In art, it is also true that the scene of Mary's Conception was depicted less often than the Nativity and the Entry and was first attested to in Cappadocia only in the tenth century, later than the other two. Nevertheless, as mentioned, the feast marks the inception of the soteriological plan of God, which is why it featured in many calendars.

Celebration in Constantinople

The feast, which is missing from the ninth-century *Kalendarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and from the ninth-century codex (cod.2) of the skete of St Andrew of Athos, is included in the ninth century *Calendar of Naples* (a compilation of a local calendar with a Byzantine one).[114] It is also included in the tenth-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople*,[115] in the *Great Typikon of Constantinople* (tenth century),[116] the *Menologion of Basil II*, the eleventh-century hymnographic calendar of the Constantinopolitan Christophoros Mytilenaios,[117] in the twelfth-century *Constitutions* of Manuel Komnenos and in the fourteenth-century *Prochiron auctum*.[118] It is noteworthy that the steadily growing prominence of the feast from the ninth century onwards shows that any effort to attribute an earlier introduction of the feast is not supported by available evidence. In Constantinople, the feast was, according to the *Synaxarion*, first celebrated in the tenth century in the church of the Chalkoprateia, which could explain the first appearance of the scene in Byzantine art during the same century.

Finally, multiple feast days in the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarion* relating to Mary's life mirror liturgical traditions that were developed in Palestine, from where the majority of feasts originate. By the tenth century, on 9 December (nine months before the Nativity of Mary),[119] when the Conception was celebrated in Constantinople, the feast day of St Anna and of John of Damaskos was celebrated in Jerusalem.[120]

Overall, the feast of the Conception of Mary by St Anna is important for the *Divine Oikonomia* since, according to homilists, it was the first step towards the salvation of humanity from sin. In the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople it is recorded from the tenth century in the church of the Chalkoprateia, and was increasingly celebrated in the following centuries.

The Nativity of Mary: significance of the feast

As with the Conception, the importance of Mary's birth for Christianity lies in the fact that it led to the birth of Christ, which realized God's plan for the salvation of humanity. James Kokkinobaphos writes: '[The prophets] rejoiced when they saw the day of your birth, in which the mystery of the [divine] economy was revealed'.[121] Therefore, the Church of Constantinople celebrated 'Joachim and Anna on this day not because they died on that day but because they brought about the world's salvation'.[122] Patriarch Photios writes that the 'Incarnation would not have become real

through men, because incarnation is the road to birth, and birth is the result of pregnancy, this is why a woman (Mary) was selected to accomplish the divine plan'.[123] The soteriological aspect of Mary's childhood is why her parents are accorded deep respect in Byzantine texts, despite their apocryphal origins.

Origins in Palestine

In the Constantinopolitan calendar, the date of 8 September is dedicated to the celebration of Mary's Nativity. The earliest evidence for the celebration of the Nativity of Mary in the Probatike is the tenth-century *Georgian Lectionary*,[124] but earlier texts show that the date changed over the centuries. Pseudo-Demetrios of Antioch (sixth century), for example, dates Mary's birth to 15 Athor (October),[125] whereas two centuries later the event was celebrated on 8 September. The earlier date for the celebration of the feast on September 8 in Jerusalem is provided by the *Old Georgian Lectionary*, which reflects the liturgy in the Holy City until the eighth century.[126] The Probatike aside, the tenth-century *Georgian Lectionary* records that the Nativity of Mary was celebrated on 16 January in Choziba together with the Annunciation of Joachim,[127] when in Constantinople a certain 'saint martyr Anna' is celebrated,[128] and when the Coptic Church celebrated the Dormition of Mary.[129] The feast days dedicated to St Anna or to martyrs named Anna in both calendars demonstrate that geography influenced liturgical developments. From the ninth century onwards, for example, Choziba was recognized as the place where Joachim found refuge after the rejection of his gifts, a belief which found its way into the liturgical calendar of Palestine – as the *Georgian Lectionary* shows – and circulated in Palestine in the following centuries.[130]

Scholarly views on its development in Constantinople

Cunningham, in her discussion of the Nativity feast in the Byzantine capital, notes:

> The question which immediately arises is why, in the first half of the sixth century, Romanos the Melodist accepted the testimony of an apocryphal text which had not hitherto received official acceptance or expression. The most obvious answer is that the institution of Marian feast days, celebrating events in her life and her role in the conception and birth of Christ, began to occur precisely in this period.[131]

Modern scholars place the celebration of the Nativity of Mary in sixth-century Constantinople either under Justinian I, Justin II or Maurice.[132] This idea is found in Romanos the Melodist's hymn on the Nativity of Mary, where it is written, 'In your holy Nativity, which your people also celebrate',[133] possibly read on the consecration of Anna's church in the Deuteron.[134]

More analytically, Gharib sees the *kontakion* of Romanos as testimony to the feast's origins in Jerusalem, which Justinian introduced to the Byzantine capital.[135] Cameron has argued that 'Maurice's initiative in adopting the feast must surely

have been a response to pre-existing developments, hardly the bolt from the blue that it might otherwise appear to be'.[136] Cameron argues for the reign of Maurice, drawing on Xanthopoulos's *Ecclesiastical History*, which however dates to after 1317.[137] For Lafontaine-Dosogne, the establishment of the feast of Mary's Nativity took place in the seventh/eighth century with Andrew of Crete, who wrote four homilies on the feast,[138] but began with Romanos's hymn.[139]

The difference between these scholarly views is the result of the lack of textual evidence for the introduction of the feast before the ninth century. As far as the *kontakion* of Romanos is concerned, it is certainly an early indication – and the only one available – for the celebration of the feast in sixth-century Constantinople, but there is no evidence for the extent to which it was celebrated. Its composition was prompted by Justinian's desire to create a counterpart of the Probatike in the Byzantine capital, but after him this endeavour was abandoned. For this reason I strongly believe that the hymn of Romanos should not be regarded as an expression of liturgical innovation around Mary's life in Constantinople, which progressed steadily from the sixth century onwards, but rather as an isolated phenomenon which began and ended with Justinian I.

Spread in Constantinople

Our earliest evidence for the celebration of the feast in Constantinople dates to 899, when Philotheos writes that the Birth of the Virgin was celebrated in the church of the Chalkoprateia.[140] Also in the ninth century, the Chalkoprateia is recorded as the first church to depict the Mariological cycle, starting with Mary's Nativity in the nave of the same church.[141] Outside Constantinople, the earliest liturgical evidence for the celebration of the feast is a calendar of Byzantine and Italian origin from Naples, which also dates to the ninth century (849–872).[142]

According to liturgical evidence, the feast was introduced to Constantinople in the ninth century, as recorded in the *Kalendarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*,[143] but scholars disagree as to the date that the calendar was compiled. Krausmüller, Antonopoulou and Kishpaugh date it to the eighth century,[144] but Ehrhard and Velkova-Velkovska not earlier than the ninth.[145] In the tenth century, the feast was celebrated (apart from the Chalkoprateia) in the Orvikiou church, as the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople records.[146] It is also mentioned in the *Synaxarion of Basil II* (around 986),[147] the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (second half of the tenth century),[148] the hymnographic calendar of Christophoros Mytilenaios (eleventh century)[149] and the fourteenth-century *Prochiron auctum*.[150]*Pseudo-Kodinos* (fourteenth century) says that during his time the feast was celebrated in the Lips monastery.[151] In the *Great Typikon of Constantinople* on 8 September (Mary's Nativity) and on 9 September, when Mary's parents are celebrated (discussed below), there is no reading of the apocryphal text,[152] but rather of the homilies of Andrew of Crete and Pseudo-John of Damaskos. As mentioned above, this textual preference shows that the Byzantines relied on homilists rather than on the apocryphal text when celebrating the feast.[153] It seems that despite the celebration of Mary's childhood from the ninth century onwards, the Byzantine Church

was reluctant to use the *Protevangelion* in the liturgy but was rather restrained in exalting the importance of the figures mentioned in that work. In this respect, Chevalier's view that the popularity of the *Protevangelion* signified that the Nativity must have been a great feast[154] is debatable, as this would also imply that the Conception of Anna would have been a major feast, but, as shown earlier, it was not. The diffusion of the narrative did not reflect the popularity of Marian feasts but their theological profundity and contribution to salvation.

The Entry of Mary

When Mary was three years old, she was given by her parents – as promised – to the priest Zacharias and lived until the age of twelve in the Temple of Jerusalem. Of all the scenes from Mary's life with her parents, her Entry into the Temple is the one depicted most often in Byzantine art. If we take a closer look at surviving homilies on her early life (Conception, Nativity, Entry), we see that the greatest number of Marian homilies from the eighth until the fifteenth century were dedicated to her Entry into the Temple, reflecting the greater interest of the Byzantines in this rather than the other two feasts of Mary's early life. This was perhaps because, as a procession and ritual, it recalled the Great Entrance,[155] or because it is the first incident in her early life that demonstrates her holiness.

Development of the feast

The origins of the celebration of Mary's Entry go back to 864 when it appeared in the liturgical codex Sin. géorg. 32–57–33 copied at the St Sabas Monastery in Palestine.[156] According to the tenth-century *Georgian Lectionary*, the earliest account of the celebration of Mary's Entry in Jerusalem, it was celebrated on 21 November.[157] Based on this text and the fact that the Probatike was regarded as the house of Joachim and Anna, scholars have gone further and argued that from the sixth century onwards the feast of the Entry was celebrated there with a reading of the *Protevangelion*.[158] This view is uncorroborated because the *Georgian Lectionary* is not an adequate witness to sixth-century liturgical developments in Jerusalem, while the feast does not appear in Jerusalem before the eighth century as the *Old Georgian Lectionary* shows, which celebrates the feast not on 21 but on 16 November.

From a different perspective, Kyriakopoulos established another early celebration of the feast in Jerusalem. He argued that the location of the Nea Church – built in Jerusalem by Justinian I – recalled the apocryphal story of Mary's Entry and through this association the feast of the Entry in the Nea emerged.[159] This is because in the *Old Georgian Lectionary*, Mary's Entry and the construction of the Nea Church were commemorated on 16 November.[160] The *Old Georgian Lectionary* on 16 November reads: 'Commemoration of King Justinian, who built the Church of Mary in the city, the Nea',[161] and on 20 November the dedication of the Nea is celebrated.[162] Garitte sees a connection in the closeness of the two dates, but does not draw any conclusions from this.[163] The feast on 20 November mentioned in the *Old Georgian Lectionary* and its proximity to 21 November in

the *Georgian Lectionary*[164] explain why Kyriakopoulos assumed that Mary's Entry was celebrated in the Nea Church. He is right to connect the commemoration of Mary's life to a liturgical evolution, but the Probatike cannot support the eighth- or tenth-century celebration of the Entry feast and, since the *Old Georgian Lectionary* dates to the eighth century, it is impossible to establish a definite connection between the Entry feast and the construction of the Nea as early as the sixth century or before the tenth century.[165] Thus I incline to the view of Filias, who has argued that the first unambiguous reference to the celebration of the feast in Jerusalem is in the tenth century.[166]

It is only after the eighth century that homilies on the Entry of Mary began to be given in Constantinople. As early as 730, Patriarch Germanos composes his Entry homily, which according to Amann should be regarded as the earliest date for the celebration of the feast.[167] Cunningham agrees with Amann that 'such a burst of liturgical composition reinforces the hypothesis that the feast of Entry was introduced into the churches of Constantinople in the early eighth century', but underlines the fact that the feast 'gained wider recognition as a major Marian festival in the course of the ninth century'.[168] Other scholars have argued that the feast was introduced in Constantinople even earlier than 730, based on the fact that Patriarch Germanos refers to the feast as being widely celebrated.[169] But as shown, homilists used this phrasing not necessarily to record a contemporary reality, but to underline the importance of the event and justify it being regarded as such. Even though Germanos was the first writer of homilies on the feast of the Entry, the view that he 'was responsible for the introduction of the feast and that it was he who chose the Chalkoprateia as the location', must, as Krausmüller postulated, 'remain hypothetical'.[170]

The feast is missing from the ninth-century *Kalendarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*; the first source to confirm that it was widely celebrated is the tenth-century *Synaxarion* of *Constantinople*, which locates the celebration in the church of the Chalkoprateia.[171] It is also mentioned in the *Great Typikon*,[172] the *Menologion of Basil II*[173] and in the hymnographic calendar of Christophoros Mytilenaios.[174] In the fourteenth century, when, according to Gregory Palamas, the feast of the Entry was celebrated by the 'entire race',[175] it was celebrated in the Peribleptos monastery,[176] and it also appears in the 1300 *Prochiron auctum*.[177] Thus, the earliest reference to the celebration of the Entry feast in the Constantinopolitan church is in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, while the feasts of the Conception of Anna and the Nativity of Mary were first included in the *Kalendarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitana*e in the ninth century.

The Dormition of St Anna and the feast of Sts Anna and Joachim

The final two feasts do not celebrate events in the life of Mary, but in the lives of her parents. In the eighth century, Kosmas Vestitor summarized the reasons for celebrating Mary's parents, 'through whom the beginning of salvation for all has come about'.[178] The soteriological plan for the salvation of humanity was realized in Mary's birth, so honouring those who were selected to bring Mary forth is an idea that developed in Byzantium from the eighth century onwards. The feast of

Sts Anna and Joachim (9 September) is referred to in the ninth-century *Kalendarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the tenth-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople*.[179] The Dormition of St Anna is not based on the *Protevangelion*, but was invented as a counterpart to the Dormition of Mary: it was first attested to in the tenth-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople* under 25 July. In the *Old Georgian Lectionary* and the *Georgian Lectionary* of Jerusalem the feast is celebrated on 9 September,[180] and in the *Georgian Lectionary* on 25 July a martyr called Anna is celebrated among other martyrs.[181] The fact that 25 July is for both Constantinople and Jerusalem a tenth-century feast day which celebrates two female saints with the same name demonstrates once more the reciprocal liturgical relationship between the two cities.

In Constantinople, the feasts of Anna and Joachim and the Dormition of St Anna are included in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople,[182] the *Typikon of the Great Church* (tenth century),[183] the hymnographic calendar of Christophoros Mytilenaios,[184] and the twelfth-century *New Constitutions* of Manuel Komnenos.[185] The feast of Sts Anna and Joachim was celebrated in 'a church of the Theotokos, close to the Chalkoprateia',[186] and the Dormition of Anna in the church of St Anna in the Deuteron.[187] Magdalino speaks of many martyria located around the church of St Anna in the Deuteron,[188] and it could be that associations with the death of saints in this area may have led to the celebration of the Dormition feast in this location.[189]

Overall, the Conception of St Anna appears in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople from the tenth century in the church of the Chalkoprateia, while the Nativity of Mary appeared a century earlier, in 899, and was also celebrated in the church of Chalkoprateia. The Nativity appears much more frequently in *synaxaria* and *menologia*, which demonstrates its wider diffusion than the Conception of St Anna. The Entry of the Virgin appeared in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, and was, similarly to the other two feasts, celebrated in the Chalkoprateia. Finally, the Dormition of St Anna appeared in the tenth century and unlike other feasts was celebrated in the Church of St Anna in the quarter of the Deuteron, while the Feast of Sts Anna and Joachim appears for the first time in the ninth-century *Kalendarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and was celebrated in a church close to the Chalkoprateia. The process of establishing feast days in the Church Calendar of Constantinople was a long one: it began to take place from the eighth century onwards with the composition of sermons that honoured special events in the life of the Virgin. This evolution was helped by the fact that during and after Iconoclasm the dogma of the Incarnation inspired a conscious effort to acknowledge the human forebears of Christ. Thus their lives became known though the homiletic activity of the eighth and ninth centuries and led to them being celebrated in a liturgical context from the ninth century onwards.

Part III. *Social approaches*

Hagiography, histories and travel accounts reveal the ever-changing associations made with Anna and demonstrate the manifold ways in which her cult was manipulated in Byzantium. How widespread was St Anna's cult in the Middle and Late

Byzantine period? To which social strata was she particularly related? Which types of symbolism are attributed to her name and how were they created? These are some of the questions that will be posed in the following pages and will help us to penetrate the social aspect of her cult in Byzantium. Hagiography, Orthodoxy, onomatology, biblical associations, protection of pregnancy and funerary connotations are interrelated and constitute developments of her cult that took place during and after the Iconoclastic Controversy.

Hagiography: St Anna and Iconophilia

The *vita* of the Iconophile St Stephen the Younger (written around 809),[190] refers to various women named Anna: Stephen's mother, the Virgin's mother and a widowed nun. Apart from being the first and only hagiographical work to include three women called Anna, it is also the earliest work to make associations between the name Anna, Iconophilia and the protection of childbirth.

St Stephen's mother was unable to conceive a male child until an advanced age, which is why she visited the church of the Blachernai to pray to the Virgin.[191] By that time, Mary's role as healer had been associated with the cure of infertility. Stephen's hagiographer writes that 'this Anna prays to the Virgin to remove her infertility as Mary had done with her mother',[192] a parallelism we see in fifth- and sixth-century Syriac homilies:

> The young maid gave a healing medicine to her aged mother, bitten by the serpent, the bitter poison was wrenched from her limbs and the death that had slain her proved no longer effective: the daughter had acted as physician to her mother, and healed her.[193]

Or, elsewhere:

> The second Eve gave birth to life, among mortals; she wiped clean the bill of debt incurred by Eve her mother. The child (Mary) gave her hand to help her aged mother (Eve) who lay prostrate; she raised her up from the Fall that the serpent had affected. It was the daughter (Mary) who wove the robe of glory and gave it to her father (Adam), who then covered his body that had been naked ever since the affair of the tree.[194]

In contrast to Syriac homilies, in the *Life of Stephen the Younger* Mary cures not Eve, but Anna, Stephen's mother. Apart from Mary's ability to resolve Anna's infertility, which – it should be noted – is not actual infertility since she was already a mother, the frequent visits of Stephen's mother to the Blachernai resembles the story of Hannah, mother of Samuel, who was unable to conceive and only gave birth to him after a long period of prayer.[195] In the *Vita*, Stephen's mother is called the 'new Anna',[196] who, as with her model Hannah, wandered around churches and the Blachernai in particular, praying for a child.[197] In the life of Peter of Atroa, his mother had promised 'like another Hannah' (the mother of Samuel)

to dedicate the child to the temple if she ever became pregnant.[198] The link between the two women in the life of Stephen the Younger is made through the appellation 'new Anna' as the hagiographer writes: 'Because her [Stephen's mother's] name is also Anna'.[199] Thus, the hagiographer blends the stories of two women, the infertility of the apocryphal Anna and the constant prayers of the biblical Hannah and attributes both to Stephen's mother.[200] The repetition of the same name (Hannah, Anna) elevates Stephen's mother to the status of a female saint whose sanctity is demonstrated both in her name and in the imitation of the behaviour of biblical women. This idea is attested to throughout the Middle and Late Byzantine period. An example is found in the tenth-century homilist, Peter of Argos, who compares Anna to Hannah and Sarah,[201] and Nikephoros Kallistos in his *Ecclesiastical History*, who writes: 'And because she [the mother of Mary] was barren . . . like the mother of Samuel she became a suppliant in the church of God'.[202] One might wonder why the ninth-century hagiographer of St Stephen's life did not employ the prayers of St Anna as an example to convey the faith of Stephen's mother. It seems that a biblical figure like Hannah was more authoritative than the apocryphal one who had just started taking her first steps into the pantheon of Christian saints.

The second woman, who received the name Anna from Stephen himself, is a rich childless widow, who gave away all her fortune and together with Stephen's mother became a nun in the monastery of Stephen on Mt Auxentios in Bithynia.[203] Apart from the name, other details bestow attributes of both biblical and apocryphal Annas on this woman. This nun did not have children, was rich and ended up in a monastery, which recalls the story of the rich, childless apocryphal Anna, who secluded herself in her house to pray after the rejection of the couple's gifts. The nun was also accused by her maid of having sexual relations with Stephen,[204] and is referred to in the *Vita* as a second Susanna, known from the book of *Daniel*, who was falsely accused of having been violated by two men.[205] In hagiographies, this type of relationship between a nun (or other woman dedicated to God) and a man is regarded as adultery, since nuns are considered the brides of Christ.[206] Her accusation recalls the reproach of the apocryphal Anna by her maid Judith after the rejection of gifts in the *Protevangelion of James*,[207] and the provocative attitude of Hannah's rival, the wife of Helkana, because of Hannah's infertility in the *Old Testament*.[208] The common element in the apocryphal narrative and the hagiographical text is that both Annas were unfairly accused and were not able to defend themselves properly, which is given new theological implications in ninth-century Iconophile hagiography. In more detail, Nikolaou has emphasized the negative depiction of the Iconoclasts in this story from St Stephen's life and Anna's betrayal by the maid is presented as an attack on Iconophiles.[209] Kazhdan notes that the punishment that the nun Anna received when she denied the false accusations (she was beaten after she had been lifted up in the form of a cross) signifies the victory of good over evil.[210] Once again, the hagiographer clearly aimed at including the women of the *Vita* in the corpus of female saints whose biblical authority exalted their sanctity and constituted Christian role models.

Stephen's *Vita* has been closely associated with Iconophilia,[211] and so are the women mentioned in his *Vita*. But this connection was further developed in liturgical texts, where, for example, in the tenth-century *Syxanarion of Constantinople*, Anna the Younger (discussed later), who had actively proven her opposition to Iconoclasm,[212] is celebrated with Stephen the Younger on 28 November.[213] Kazhdan and Talbot have noted that although she was martyred in the eighth century 'she received recognition as a saint only two centuries or more after her death',[214] when Mary's mother had also been included in the Church calendar. Moreover, the Iconophile associations are also elicited from other evidence in the *Vita* of St Stephen: After Stephen's persecution and exile, the Iconophile saint found refuge in Prokonissos in a monastery dedicated to St Anna.[215] Finally, Anthousa of Mantineon (eighth century), who was also persecuted during Iconoclasm, managed to survive and built a church dedicated to St Anna.[216] The examples clearly show the direct and implied references to the defence of the Iconophile element in Christian dogma. They also exemplify the discreet way in which changes in ideas were reflected in Byzantine texts.

The choice of the names Stephen and Anna in the *Vita* is not random, but made for a particular reason, the creation of family. Marriage belts 'were frequently inscribed with the word 'health', expressing a wish for a successful conception and childbirth'.[217] Through his name, Stephen is associated with marriage (στέφανος) because *stephana* (crowns) were placed over the couple's heads during the wedding ceremony.[218] In the Great Palace in Constantinople, marriages took place in the oratory of St Stephen, because of the meaning of the name Stephanos in Greek.[219] Anna protected childbirth and is closely associated with marriage, as the birth of children was an essential prerequisite for a successful marriage.[220] The pairing of Anna and Stephen is a 'natural' one, but also a deliberate use of words, which the Byzantines were fond of.

Hagiography: Anna and childbirth

After the eighth and especially the ninth centuries, a number of female saints called Anna make their appearance in saints' lives, such as Anna of Leukate and Anna known as Euphemianos.[221] Mothers of saints are also called Anna, such as the mothers of St Philaretos (possibly) in the first half of the eighth century,[222] of St Euthymios the Younger (898),[223] of St Theophano,[224] of Nikolaos of Oraia Pege (965–1054)[225] and of Christodoulos, who built the Chapel of St Anna in Patmos in the eleventh century.[226] Some of these women appear to have had difficulties in procreation, so they prayed to the Virgin Mary – who acts as mediator between God and humanity –[227] to cure their infertility and realize their wishes.[228] Mary's ability to cure infertility in any woman was not only reflected in hagiography but also in material culture and was based on the fact that she cured her own mother's infertility, as mentioned earlier. An epigram written on a Marian icon and dedicated – as Pentcheva suggests – by Theodora Komnene (niece of Manuel Komnenos) to the Virgin, refers to the salvation of Anna by her daughter. The epigram is a plea

for a child: 'In the past, O Maiden, by being wondrously born, you delivered Anna from the affliction of barrenness'.[229]

Apart from Mary, there are cases in hagiography where St Anna resolves fertility problems. St Theodora of Kaisareia (tenth century) was born after her parents had been reproductively challenged for a long time. According to her biographer, when Theodora reached the appropriate age, she was dedicated to the monastery of St Anna in Rigidion. The hagiographer wrote that when her mother conceived, she 'accepted the grace of Anna the mother of the Theotokos'.[230] We should note here that the name Hannah actually means 'grace' in Hebrew and in the light of the grace conferred by God on women favoured to give birth it assumes additional importance. St Thomais of Lesbos prayed for a child, not to Mary but to St Anna, and her parents' story is compared to that of Anna and Joachim.[231] The prayer to Anna for a child is confirmed by material evidence as well. Eleventh- and twelfth-century engraved intaglios and cameos depicting the Medusa include images of St Anna holding Mary.[232] They usually bear the 'hystera formula', a phrase which reads: 'Ὑστέρα μελάνη μελανόμενη' (Womb, black, blackening), or the name of the saint.[233] The 'hystera formula' exorcized demons from the womb,[234] and the Medusa with her hair in the form of snakes is connected with the seven female demons that appeared to King Solomon in the apocryphal 'Solomon's Testament'.[235] According to Bolus or Pseudo-Demokritos (third–second centuries B.C.), snakes were considered very dangerous for a pregnant woman, because if she stepped over a snake she would miscarry.[236]

Moreover, it is not uncommon to find saints who were born from women who could not conceive or were too old to give birth.[237] The infertility of a saint's parents, a frequent commonplace in hagiography, has its roots in the biblical motif of barren parents who at long last bear a holy child such as Isaac, Samuel or John the Baptist.[238] Stephen the Younger, Peter of Atroa,[239] St Theophano or later the monk Nikolaos (in the eleventh century) all had mothers named Anna who had difficulty conceiving.[240] At the same time, this motif reflected a social problem of the time. Nikolaou notes that the recurrence of the name Anna in hagiographies is not random, but commonly associated with infertile women,[241] and Pitarakis sees a clear connection between St Anna and the issue of infertility in Byzantine society, in the sense that it reflected an actual problem for women.[242] Of course, this problem did not pertain only to the ninth century, but it continued in later centuries, as the icon of Thedora Komnene and the intaglios show. From the ninth century onwards, infertility was associated with the saint's cult, making her name equivalent to its cure. While the childless biblical Hannah remained predominant in this area, with the emergence of Iconoclasm and the acknowledgement of the *Protevangelion* the apocryphal Anna also satisfied couples' desire for a child. Hagiography reflects ninth-century social perceptions and religious developments in Byzantium that overlooked the apocryphal origins of Anna's life and linked it with the authoritative lives of biblical women. The name Anna was associated not only with problems related to childbirth but also to the demonstration of motherly affection. Nikolaou uses among others the example of Anna/Euphemianos and the mother of Peter of Atroa to show that breastfeeding was an important part of

raising a child in Byzantine society.[243] Anna/Euphemianos breastfed her child, and when she joined the monastery she did not abandon it but gave it to someone in her family to take care of.[244]

On the whole, evidence from hagiography suggests that from the beginning of the ninth century the name Anna was associated with Iconophilia and childbearing, as mothers of saints who had problems conceiving a child bore this name. It is true that in hagiographical and other texts there are no direct references to St Anna's role as protector of children and families. But this is a connection which is developed particularly in art, where family portraits are accompanied by inscription asking for the protection of the saint or are depicted with her.[245] However, when it comes to the cure of infertility, this association appears to have been established not only in hagiographies, but also in other literary genres from the ninth century onwards, namely the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor and the *Patria of Constantinople*.

Histories: Anna and Iconophilia in Theophanes's Chronographia *and the* Patria of Constantinople

Theophanes records an incident that illustrates the Orthodox feelings of a woman called Anna. The (according to Theophanes) Iconophile Artavasdos (the son-in-law of Emperor Leo III)[246] was incarcerated by Emperor Constantine V. His Iconophile sympathies are shown in Theophanes's claim that during his reign (741–742) Artavasdos restored the icons.[247] He had nine children and a wife called Anna (the daughter of Leo III),[248] who, after the death of her husband and children, buried them in the Chora monastery, close to the relics of Patriarch Germanos. As Herrin has noted, 'the existence of Germanos's relics in Chora developed a strong Iconophile tradition related to this monastery'.[249] The same Anna appears in a patronage story in the tenth-century *Patria of Constantinople*.

There are numerous examples of female patronage in the *Patria* where monuments have been ascribed to many different individuals at different times,[250] but three cases that share common features will be mentioned here.[251] These instances, which have been highlighted by Berger,[252] are very similar to each other and all relate to the construction, mainly by empresses, of churches dedicated to St Anna.

Firstly, Justinian II built the church of St Anna in the Deuteron after his wife became pregnant and had a vision of the saint.[253] Secondly, Anna, the pregnant wife of Leo III, was returning from Blachernai, and while going down to the house of a *protospatharios* she gave birth on that spot.[254] Thirdly, Theophilos's wife, Theodora, while coming back from the Blachernai, realized that she was pregnant when her horse flinched, which prompted her to build the church of St Anna in the Dagestheas area.[255] The connection between pregnancy and Anna is clear in the *Patria*, but was there any particular reason to attribute the churches of St Anna to the wives of Theophilos and Leo? One cannot overlook the fact that both Theodora and Anna were wives of Iconoclast emperors.[256] The patronage stories in the *Patria* place the female protagonists in a specific ideological context. They appear to worship a saint whose role as Christ's progenitor was established

after the end of Iconoclasm. The dating of these stories coincides chronologically with the inclusion of Mary's parents in the Church calendar and the widespread acceptance of the *Protevangelion* from the ninth century on. The Iconophile colouring in these stories is strengthened by the fact that after the official end of Iconoclasm in 843 Empress Theodora made a procession which started from the Blachernai,[257] a church which became a symbol of the triumph of Orthodoxy.[258]

One cannot fail to see the similarities in the content of these three stories. The common elements are that the women are wives of emperors, they are pregnant and dedicated to a church after birth. The supposed wife of Leo III, Anna, who was actually his daughter,[259] is mentioned twice, and one of the foundation stories she is involved in resembles almost completely that of Theodora, the wife of Theophilos, who had a daughter named Anna.[260] Berger argues that Theodora's commission in the Dagestheas area was a token of gratitude for her daughter Anna.[261] The stories of Leo's daughter and that of Theodora, wife of Justinian II, are also similar, apart from the way the saint appears to them, namely in a dream or in the flinching of a horse. The vision of the saint that the two empresses (the wives of Justinian and Theophilos) shared shows that in tenth-century popular belief St Anna appeared in visions or dreams in her capacity as a healer saint who protected childbirth. The dedication of the church by the imperial family and the reference to the empress's horse are elements that promote imperial power,[262] with which St Anna was associated in the tenth century in her role as protectress of childbirth, an idea perpetuated in hagiography from the ninth century on. The vision of the wife of Justinian II shows how miracle accounts prompt or justify actions related to monumental patronage, which does not necessarily correspond to the urban plan of the city.[263] Of course, the Deuteron church was known already from the sixth century, but since the story of the wife of Justinian II relates to an already existing monument, the actual donation of this particular donor is unknown and thus can be regarded as fictional. In this aspect, Herrin has pointed out that 'when writers found a monument the story of which they did not know they made their own connections according to the legends associated with an area'.[264] The Deuteron church shows that the *Patria* altered stories to fit the ideological perspective of the tenth-century writer. This supports James's argument that 'when people associated with places change, we can see how they were put to different uses'.[265] When a story is concerned with the life of an empress then it is ideology and not necessarily historicity that the texts are concerned with.[266] In contrast to hagiographical texts, in the *Patria* empresses associated with Anna are not reproductively challenged as it was an essential prerequisite for them to leave offspring, thus ideologies were manipulated according to the social group a text was intended for, or the persona it involved. Hill has postulated that 'an . . . explanation of imperial women's power in Byzantium is made possible only by investigating ideology as a tool before approaching the historical evidence. Such a method is particularly important when studying women, whose role and place in our own society is far from resolved'.[267] Delehaye has discussed the process according to which the hagiographer writes his vita using true or false written, oral and pictorial traditions and how all these contribute to the creation of the vita and the attribution of characteristics to saints.[268]

The same method was adopted by the editor of the *Patria*, who amalgamated actual and fictional elements and placed them in a tenth-century ideological context. The *Patria* provides us with the opportunity to see how authors adapted tradition to accommodate the social and ideological values of their period.

Church calendars, hagiography and histories: women at the church of the Blachernai

Apart from the *Patria*, other texts also illustrate the ideological function of references to St Anna in Byzantium. Church calendars, lives of saints and histories are the terrains where diverse traditions merge and establish various connections with the saint or women named Anna.

The Blachernai was one of the two most important religious establishments dedicated to Mary in Constantinople and the Virgin's power in this church was identified with a holy spring (*louma*) and her omophorion.[269] It was mentioned earlier that Mary's cult in Constantinople had healing associations, which was the purpose served by holy springs. Mary's healing qualities were further promulgated when her relics were transferred from Jerusalem to the Blachernai in the early seventh century, as the *Life of the Virgin* of Maximos the Confessor claims.[270] Scholarship supports the assertion that the girdle of Mary in the Blachernai protected childbirth,[271] but according to Maximos the girdle was first placed in the Chalkoprateia in the seventh century,[272] where it was still kept during the Patriarchate of Germanos (715–730), as his homily *On Mary's Girdle* tells us. The association of the girdle with childbirth was made because, according to Germanos, the girdle surrounded the body of Mary when she was pregnant with Christ.[273] This is why, as mentioned earlier, marriage belts were inscribed with the word 'health', to ensure a healthy pregnancy. It was probably some time after the beginning of the ninth century that the girdle was transferred to the Blachernai, as a miracle account from the Chalkoprateia shows, where the Soros (ζώνην) is mentioned as being in the church.[274] As to the connection of the girdle with children, rather than childbirth in particular, the same miracle account refers to the rescue of a boy who had fallen into a well located in the church. When his widowed mother realized that her son was unhurt after the fall, she gave praise to Mary for rescuing him.[275] At the beginning of the tenth century, the girdle of the Virgin appears to have been transferred to the Blachernai, as recorded in the *vita* of Patriarch Euthymios,[276] written around 920/930.[277] It is significant that women like the mother of St Stephen the Younger and the empresses in the *Patria* appear to give birth after visiting the Blachernai, not the Chalkoprateia. On the contrary, the fact that the feasts celebrating events from the early life of Mary (Conception, the Nativity and the Entry) were celebrated not in the Blachernai but in Chalkoprateia[278] did not matter to the editor of the *Patria*, who incorporated elements from the life of the empresses who visited the Blachernai regularly.[279] The two texts reveal a development of ideas associated with the Blachernai, related to the cure of infertility. The aim of the hagiographer of Stephen the Younger was not to give expression to ideologies surrounding imperial women, as is the case with the writer/editor of

the *Patria*. Nevertheless, he manages to record a popular belief that did not leave the world of imperial women untouched.

Pratch argues that the prayer for a child in a church, its birth and its subsequent dedication to the temple is not a major hagiographical 'topos', as each action often appears without the others,[280] but in our case, women praying in churches and associating themselves with the *Old Testament* Hannah or the *New Testament* Anna are a motif demonstrating female piety. In the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, St Anna the Virgin (discussed later) 'made earnest and continuous supplication with many tears' in order to keep her body unviolated by the Persians.[281] In the *Protevangelion*, the apocryphal Anna imitates the mother of Samuel in the sense that both have the same affliction and act in a similar way. By spending all her time in a church praying, Anna the Prophetess extends the motif of a female named Anna with issues of fertility (or not) who spends her time praying in churches. In *Theophanes Continuatus*, before the rise of Basil I to the throne, his mother used to 'visit a church similarly to Anna (the Prophetess) and would not leave the temple but spent her time there praying and fasting'.[282] Imitation was a driving force in Christianity, shown particularly when infertile women adopted the practices of saints who had had the same affliction. Thus according to the model of the three Annas, in order for the supplication to succeed, Byzantine women, and especially those named Anna, as hagiography has shown, had to spend a considerable amount of time praying in a church. In the seventh-century *vita* of St Artemios a woman named Anna used to light a lamp before the icon of John the Baptist,[283] the first instance outside the *Protevangelion* and the *Bible* of supplication, symbolized by John the Baptist, being associated with the name Anna. In order to become pregnant, women did not pray in every church, but only in those dedicated to St Anna or Mary, like Theophano's mother, who spent her days praying for a child in the church of the Theotokos in the area of Bassois.[284] Luckily, as shown in chapter 1, Constantinopolitan topography made it possible to pray in churches dedicated to both saints by locating a chapel or a church of Anna next to an already existing church of Mary. The translation of Marian relics both to the Blachernai and to the Chalkoprateia reduced to two the number of churches that women had to visit to ensure a (safe) pregnancy, namely the Chalkoprateia and the Blachernai. The mother of Stephen the Younger visited the Blachernai in the ninth century, but one century later a stronger connection had been created between Anna and the Blachernai, which is particularly shown in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. According to this source, Anna the Holy Mother the Younger and Anna/Euphemianos appear as daughters of a *diaitarios* and a deacon respectively in the church of Blachernai.[285] The first is Anna the Holy Mother the Younger (28 October), daughter of John, a *diaitarios* in the church of the Blachernai,[286] and the second is Anna/Euphemianos (29 October), born in Constantinople around 760 and the daughter of a deacon in Blachernai.[287] Kazhdan assumes that the two Blachernai saints are the same person, as Anna is an enigmatic figure scarcely mentioned in contemporary sources.[288] But as shown below, saints or martyrs named Anna in Constantinople multiply in the Late Byzantine period, so the *Synaxarion* was probably recording the first examples of a tendency that developed much later.

Overall, the above section has discussed the multiple associations attached to the saint and the places of female worship in the Byzantine capital and has shown how various peculiarities went towards the formation of the saint's cult. We looked at the interplay between St Anna's role in facilitating childbirth and how this quality permeated textual sources of different genres, and we saw that although a straightforward line is not always followed, a certain evolution of ideas emerges as we move from the eighth to the tenth century. For example, if we consider that by the tenth century there was a chapel of St Anna in the Chalkoprateia and that feasts of her life were being celebrated in this church,[289] it is difficult to understand why there is no association made between this church and St Anna in written sources apart from the *Synaxarion*. Nevertheless, the *Synaxarion* reveals an eighth- and ninth-century tendency that was continued in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* and pertained to the manifestation of Iconophile sentiment by women named Anna. After a long process of placing women in churches, of portraying Iconophile sentiment in hagiography and historiography and given Blachernai's reputation as an Orthodox stronghold housing the most important Marian relics, the name Anna became a synonym for Orthodoxy.

Demonstration of Orthodoxy: Annas in monasteries – the Synodikon of Orthodoxy

Further demonstration of opposition to Iconoclasm is shown in the number of abbesses or nuns named Anna who were actively opposed to Iconoclasm and in the inclusion of women with the same name in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*.

Kazhdan and Talbot note that 'almost all the female correspondents of Theodore of Stoudios embraced iconophile views'.[290] Theodore Studites corresponded with four nuns or abbesses named Anna.[291] One was the abbess of the monastery of Ignaik or one of the monasteries dedicated to the Virgin in the first half of the ninth century;[292] another was the sister of Emperor Leo VI, who was a nun in the monastery of St Euphemia;[293] the third Anna was the abbess of Vardaine in the tenth century;[294] and the fourth Anna was the abbess of St Stephen's monastery in Thessalonike, who was persecuted by the Iconoclasts.[295] The name's popularity is shown in the number of martyrs and saints named Anna celebrated in Constantinople who appear in the *Synaxarion*. Our knowledge of these women is drawn from the *Synaxarion* as well as from Russian travellers of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

Women named Anna associated with Iconophilia are included in a text written in praise of Orthodoxy, the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*. This ninth-century text formed part of a feast that commemorated the restoration of icons in 843 and was read on the first Sunday of Lent. The text underwent alterations until the fourteenth century, which allowed it to include individuals who had played a significant role in the advancement of Orthodoxy over the centuries. The *Synodikon* interests us because it includes three 'very pious' women called Anna, a characterization equated with Orthodoxy since based on this principle a saint was added to the

corpus. The text of the Synodikon reads: 'John, our orthodox emperor, and Anna Augusta the very pious'[296] and then:

> Anna . . . nun Anastasia, who, in her writings and words, all her life, struggled with all her soul for the affirmation of the teachings of the apostles and the Fathers of the Church and (struggled for) the destruction of the wicked heresy and impious figure of Barlaam, Akindynos and their supporters, eternal her memory.[297]

Elsewhere, the text reads 'Anna, our glorious mistress of pious memory, eternal her memory'.[298] The three quotations refer to Anna of Savoy, who built the monastery of Hagioi Anargyroi in Thessalonik and entered this monastery under the name Anastasia.[299] The same person is recorded in a text of the Protaton monastery commemorating her: 'Our Empress Anna of immortal fame, known as the nun Anastasia, who in words and deeds laboured all her life in support of the apostolic and patristic dogmas of the Church',[300] which accurately reproduces the text of the *Synodikon*. Nicol argues that the deposition of Patriarch Kalekas as a heretic by Anna of Savoy gave her a place in the *Synodikon*,[301] meaning that this act demonstrated Orthodox feeling on the part of Anna of Savoy. Moreover, other Annas appear with other women such as 'Eudokia, Maria, Eirene and Maria, who by the divine and angelic Habit were renamed Xenia, nun, Euphrosyne, Anna, and Helena, the very pious augustae'.[302] This Anna is probably one of the two daughters of Michael of Epirus, who had a reputation for virtue and sanctity.[303] Or, it could be Anna Palaiologina, the wife of Nikephoros of Epirus, who was anti-unionist and welcomed to Epirus the refugees persecuted in Constantinople.[304]

The *Synodikon* included two women who upheld Orthodox doctrine at a time when the union of churches under Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1274 and the Synod in Lyons had divided the Byzantines into pro-unionist and anti-unionist camps. It is not substantially different from the Iconoclastic Controversy: in both cases the circumstances called for a demonstration of Orthodoxy, which 'was regarded by the Church and the state in Byzantium as a marker of identity'.[305] The significance of Anna as a symbol of Orthodoxy, as a 'correct dogma' in its literary (literal??) sense, is clearer in the *Synodikon* than in the *Patria* or in hagiography. For this reason, the connection between the name Anna and Orthodoxy in the *Synodikon* is not accidental. From the ninth century (the *Vita* of St Stephen the Younger) until the thirteenth/fourteenth century – when the women mentioned in the *Synodikon* lived – Annas were repeatedly associated with Iconophilia.[306]

There is another aspect of the name Anna in Byzantium and that is the diffusion of the name itself. The cult of St Anna spread rapidly after the ninth century and this is shown in the popularity of her name.[307] During the whole Middle Byzantine period, twenty-seven women called Anna are recorded, only three of whom date to the seventh century, while in the eighth and ninth centuries we find ten and fourteen respectively.[308] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find eighty Annas, Anna being the second most popular female name after Mary.[309] In the fourteenth century, the name gained particular fame, as the acts of Lavra list forty-eight

Annas.[310] Nomenclature is another indication of the spread of the cult of St Anna after the ninth century, which in my view reflects the connections made with the saint during and after Iconoclasm.

Martyria of various Annas in Constantinople: the Russian travellers

Apart from onomatology, martyria in the city of Constantinople testify to the popularity of this name in the Middle and especially in the Late Byzantine period. Russian travellers (Stephen of Novgorod [1348–9] and the Anonymous Russian [c. 1389–1391])[311] went to Constantinople in the fourteenth century and kept records of the churches they visited and the relics they saw or venerated. One of the tombs they mention belongs to a 'St Anna', but the location of the saint's relics differs in the two accounts and in general the two travellers refer to various tombs of saints or martyrs with the name Anna, which makes it difficult to determine the actual burial place of Mary's mother.

Stephen of Novgorod locates the tomb in the Manganas church,[312] while the Anonymous Russian places it in the Philanthropos church.[313] The Anonymous Russian refers to St Anna sometimes as a martyr;[314] thus Makeska rejects the notion that the Anonymous Russian is referring to Mary's mother because of her appellation as 'martyr',[315] and because, if Anna had been buried either in the Philanthropos or in the Manganas church, then her annual liturgical commemoration would have been held at one of these two churches; but unlike the Chalkoprateia and the church in the Deuteron, neither church was used.[316] The identification of the martyr is difficult because, as Majeska points out, it could be any martyr, such as St Anna of Heraklea.[317] Majeska also states that the saints mentioned by the two pilgrims are the same person but not the mother of the Virgin. While he is correct that in neither case is the saint referred to St Anna, it is unclear why it should be the same person. Nevertheless, although the identity of the woman buried in Manganas cannot be confirmed, she must have been buried there after the twelfth century, since in a twelfth-century description of Constantinople, when the pilgrim refers to the Manganas church, he makes no mention of the relics of a St Anna.[318] Also in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, various Annas appear under different appellations, which testifies to the growth in popularity of the name by the tenth century and the fact that reference to 'St Anna of Constantinople' is insufficient if it is not made clear which Anna is referred to.[319]

St Anna the Virgin

According to fourteenth-century travellers, St Anna the Virgin was buried in a church near the Blachernai, beyond the church of Sts Kosmas and Damian.[320] One century earlier, Antony of Novgorod (1200) had recorded that the relics of Anna (without any further details such as the saint the church was dedicated to) were located close to the Golden Horn.[321] It could be the church of Kosmas and Damian or the church of St John the Baptist at Petra, both of which served as a station for liturgy in the Middle Byzantine period.[322] This Anna is not mentioned in the *Synaxarion* but only in a copy of a tenth- or eleventh-century calendar.[323] In this

manuscript, Anna is named 'holy virgin' (ἁγία παρθένος) and 'bride of Christ',[324] and is commemorated on 7 May. The historical setting for her life is seventh-century Jerusalem and in particular 614, when the city was captured by the Persians.[325] The story repeats Greek stories of early women martyrs or copies of Arabic and Georgian texts, which focus on Jerusalem's capture,[326] and the fact that a very common name was chosen for this martyr shows that the saint 'was originally nameless'.[327] Moreover, as shown earlier, in this case associations may also have been made with female saint with the same name.

Martyrs and mothers named Anna

In the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, six martyrs named Anna are commemorated: one on 16 January,[328] one on 20 January who died in Rome,[329] one on 26 March[330] and three on 6 June.[331] The reciprocal relationship between the liturgy of Jerusalem and Constantinople mentioned earlier is once more underlined here; on 6 June, when the martyr Anna is celebrated in Constantinople, a feast was celebrated in the Probatike (mentioned in the *Georgian Lectionary*) in Jerusalem.[332] Additionally, two holy mothers are celebrated on 29 October and on 13 June, the latter with her son.[333] There is no information about the latter but the first one is Anna (known as Euphemianos), who appears in the *Synaxarion* as 'holy Mother Anna'; the chronological setting of her story is placed between the reign of Leo III and some time after the rule of Constantine VI and Eirene.[334] She travelled to Greece and resided in a monastery near Mt Olympus after dressing as a man and changing her name to Euphemianos.[335]

The Russian travellers also mention the martyrs Elisabeth and Anna, who were both buried with their husbands in the church of the Virgin in 'ta Kyrou'. In chapter 1 it was mentioned that, according to a twelfth-century addendum to the Constantinopolitan calendar of Iviron Monastery, a church of St Anna was built next to an existing church of Mary, *ta Kyrou*, in Constantinople. It could be that the commemoration of this Anna in the 'ta Kyrou' church produced the healing associations around Anna in conjunction with Justinian I and the specific church. Majeska is reluctant to accept that this Anna is the servant of Elisabeth whose body is at the same shrine, according to the Anonymous Russian.[336] It is possible that the Russian travellers are referring to one of the two pairs of martyrs under the names Anna and Elisabeth that appear in the *Synaxarion* on 9 and 22 October.[337] The first pair has an entourage, while the second does not, and they are commemorated in different churches in the same month. Lastly, in the Kyparission, near the Exakionion and directly opposite the Blachernai, there is another martyrium of a woman named Anna.[338] The multiplicity of martyrs in the Late Byzantine period shows the popularity of the name, which might be another result of the diffusion of the cult of St Anna in the Byzantine capital.

St Anna of Leukate

The last Anna mentioned in the *Synaxarion* is St Anna of Leukate, who is commemorated on 23 July, two days before the Dormition of St Anna.[339] She was born during the reign of Theophilos (829–842) and died when she was fifty years old.[340]

The *Synaxarion* informs us that she was from a very rich family and having lost her parents at an early age she devoted herself to charity. The most interesting aspect of the story is that she is the only Anna whose relics are mentioned in the *Synaxarion*.[341] We are not told where her relics were buried, but the location accompanying the saint's name, Leukate (Λευκάτη), is either in Bithynia, where we know that there was a monastery of St Anna at least by the early ninth century, or Lefkada, the Greek island in the Ionian Sea.[342] This Anna was celebrated two days before the feast of the Conception of St Anna in the *Synaxarion*, which should be seen as another way of commemorating the same saint by 'surrounding' her feast day with saints with whom she is connected.

The proliferation of martyrs called Anna in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, the appellation of women as such in the acts of Lavra and the multiplication of tombs recorded by contemporary travellers testify to the spread of the cult of St Anna by the fourteenth century. In contrast to the Middle Byzantine period, in the Late Byzantine period the cult of the saint is mirrored in developments (martyrs, nomenclature) that seem independent but are supported by the fact that the saint's cult had found new ways of demonstrating its diffusion.

Conclusions to chapters 1 and 2

This survey started with the Probatike, the birthplace of Mary. The Probatike did not give rise to the veneration of Anna in the Holy Land, since the celebration of Mary's early life revolved around Mary and not her parents. The same is true of Constantinople, where later rulers failed to maintain Justinian's efforts to establish the cult of St Anna. The contribution of Jerusalem to the study of her cult is that it sheds light on one of the factors that formed sixth-century Constantinopolitan topography. The associations of the monuments of St Anna in the Byzantine capital with water and healing are part of the creation of a sacred topography, in which, as demonstrated, Justinian I was particularly interested.

But the cult of St Anna was not initiated by Justinian, and even though he tried to promote it, his attempt failed. His building activity and the *kontakion* of Romanos are two phenomena resulting from his interest in Mary which did not have wider application before the eighth century. With the outbreak of Iconoclasm, Anna's role in the Incarnation of Christ is proclaimed to the Byzantine world through the homiletic production of the eighth and especially the ninth centuries.

The story of Anna, an infertile woman who was finally able to conceive, combined with connotations of water and healing from the sixth century, was developed and resulted in the association of Anna with childbirth from the eighth and especially the ninth century, as hagiography and the *Patria* show. In the *Patria*, the construction and rebuilding of all the known monuments of St Anna was initiated by male rulers (Justinian I, Leo VI, Basil I) but in the *Patria* – and only in the Patria – a connection is made with female patrons. It is difficult to determine why this connection is made only in the *Patria*. One reason could be that hagiography does not lend itself to recording the architectural achievements of imperial patronage, unlike the *Patria*, thanks to the nature of the text. In turn, patronage, as recounted

in the *Patria*, may have a historical nucleus – as in the case of Anna's relics – but, as shown, the four patronage stories were manipulated to suit the purpose of their writer/editor, which was the endorsement of Anna as a patron of childbirth and the association of the name Anna with the pro-image cause. Four centuries earlier than the *Patria*, in the patronage story of Justinian I mentioned by Prokopios, there is no connection of the saint with childbirth, which suggests that as early as the sixth century there was no such connection, unless Prokopios simply did not record it.

Read in combination, Theophanes's *Chronographia*, the *Life of Stephen the Younger*, the *Patria* and the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* portray St Anna with similar qualities to Mary: she cured infertility, secured the protection of children, and both were equated with Orthodoxy.[343] However, it is not only St Anna herself who is identified with Orthodoxy, but women who bear her name. Anna and Joachim were venerated simply on the strength of being Mary's parents, which motivated their inclusion in works which argued for Christ's human aspect. It was argued that in the *Patria* ideologies were manipulated to target specific social groups, as occurred with homilies. The homiletic activity from the eighth century onwards was filtered through the theological requirements of the eighth and ninth centuries, which resulted in St Anna being endowed with 'Orthodox' qualities. The first known church dedicated to her dates to the sixth century but it took at least three centuries for a separate feast of St Anna – no longer part of the Marian feast cycle – to be established. The construction of monuments and the production of homilies and hagiography show that there was a process which opened the way for the patronage stories and the introduction of Anna's Dormition feast in the tenth century. The feasts of the Dormition and of Mary's parents and now this onomatological relationship of Anna with Christianity are extra-apocryphal. They are not the result of an appreciation of the narrative, but responses to the growing cult of the saint that had arisen around the ninth century. Finally, the evidence relating to her relics clearly indicates the interest shown in the saint from the eighth century in Byzantium, which is in accordance with the emergence of homiletic activity around her life at that time.

Apart from the conception of St Theodora of Caesarea by her mother, no typical saintly qualities, such as performing miracles, were attributed to Anna, unlike in Western sources.[344] Rather, Anna's role in protecting childbirth emerged through her story in the *Protevangelion*, and Byzantine familiarity with her life through homiletic activity resulted in the 'translation' of the apocryphal text into social practice. There is no new *Vita* of St Anna written in Byzantium, as there was in the West in the thirteenth century (by Jacob of Voragine), but the Byzantines did what they did best when it came to defending their views: they stayed close to the tradition. And the *Protevangelion* had existed since the second century.

Notes

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3 PG 120: col. 192B.
4 Léon Cré, 'Recherche et découverte Le tombeau de saint Joachim et de sainte Anne à Jerusalem', *RB*, 2 (1893): pp. 245–274.
5 Theoni Baseu-Barabas, 'Perdikas von Ephesos und seine Beschreibung Jerusalems: die heiligen Stätten gesehen von einem Byzantiner des 14. Jhs.', *Symmeikta*, 11 (1997): pp. 165–166.
6 Cré, 'Recherche', p. 271.
7 X. Mathieu, *De la Dévotion à Sainte Anne ou du culte que l'on rend à ses reliques dans l'ancienne cathédrale d'Apt en Provence* (Apt, 1861), pp. 6–7; Bäumer and Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 164.
8 Paul Guérin, *Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints* (Paris, 1888), pp. 39–40; Mathieu, *De la Dévotion*, p. 2.
9 ἠγάπα δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν Μάρθαν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς (= Magdalene) καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον.
10 Paul-Victor Gharland, *Le culte de Sainte Anne en Occident* (Quebec, 1921), p. 295.
11 Mathieu, *De la Dévotion*, p. 4; Myles V. Ronan, *S. Anne: Her Cult and Her Shrines* (London, 1927), pp. 18–19.
12 Ronan, *S. Anne*, p. 22.
13 Ibid., pp. 21–22; Gharland, *Le culte*, pp. 294–297. Charlemagne's communication with Pope Hadrian was due to Charlemagne's wish to have the Roman liturgy widely celebrated, see Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 73–74; Archdale Arthur King, *Liturgy of the Roman Church* (London, 1957), p. 24.
14 Ronan, *S. Anne*, pp. 21–22.
15 PL 138, col. 886.
16 Noel Didier and Henri Dubled and Jean Barruol (eds.), *Cartulaire de l'église d'Apt*, Essais et travaux l'université de Grenoble 20 (Paris, 1967), p. 65.
17 Recorded in Gharland, *Le culte*, p. 295.
18 Ibid., p. 66.
19 Gunilla Björkvall (ed.), *Les deux tropaires d'Apt, mss.17 et 18* (Stockholm, 1986), p. 20.
20 Ibid., p. 20.
21 Oscar V. De Poli (trans.), *Cartulaire de l'église d'Apt* (Paris, 1900), p. 28, no. 120.
22 Didier and Dubled and Barruol (eds.), *Cartulaire*, pp. 89–91.
23 Gharland, *Le culte*, pp. 295, 297.
24 Herman A. Elsberg and Rhuvon Guest, 'The Veil of Saint Anne', *BurM*, 68 (1936): p. 145.
25 Georges Marçais and Gaston Wiet, 'Le Voile de sainte Anne d'Apt', *MonPiot*, 43 (1934): p. 183.
26 Gaston Wiet, 'Tissus et tapisseries du Musée Arabe du Caire', *Syria*, 16 (1935): p. 281; Elsberg and Guest, 'The Veil', p. 145.
27 Jannic Durand, 'Une prétendue relique de Constantinople: la "Véronique" de Corbie', in Antony Cutler and Arietta Papaconstantinou (eds.), *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 205–218.
28 Georgette Cornu, 'Les tissus d'apparat fatimides, parmi les plus somptueux le 'voile de sainte Anne', in Marianne Barrucand (ed.), *L'Égypte fatimide. Son art et son histoire. Actes du colloque organisé à Paris les 28, 29 et 30 mai 1998* (Paris, 1999), p. 333.
29 Elsberg and Guest, 'The Veil', p. 145; Cornu, 'Les tissus', p. 336 and n. 19. For a translation of its Arabic inscriptions, see ibid., pp. 333–335.
30 Didier and Dubled and Barruol (eds.), *Cartulaire*, pp. 21, 66.
31 Nixon, *Mary's Mother*, p. 13.
32 Chapter III, 15 April 1204: 'Qui etiam caput sancte Anna, matris beate Virginis genitricis Dei, apud Constantinopolim acquisivit et huic sancte ecclesie cum pallio precioso

transmisit'. Chapter XVII, September 20 1204: 'Et [obiit] Katerina, nobilis comitissa Blesensis et Clarimontis, que caput beate Anna, matris beatissime Virginis Dei genitricis Marie, a viro suo, illustri comite Ludovico, apud Constantinopolim acquisitum et huic missum ecclesie, cum precioso pallio presentavit et tria alia pallia preciosa eidem ecclesie dedit'. See Jansen Van der Meulen, 'Recent Literature on the Chronology of Chartres Cathedral', *ABull*, 49 (1967): p. 168. Mentioned also in Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana, seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanis, qualis exstitit sub imperatoribus Christianis, ex variis scriptoribus contexta and adornata* (Paris, 1680), part 4, p. 144.

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34 Du Cange, *Constantinopolis*, part 4, p. 144.

35 Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, C. 680–850: A History* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 33.

36 Preger (ed.), *Scriptores* (Leipzig, 1989), p. 244; Berger (trans.), *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, p. 178.

37 Manuel Gedeon (ed.), *Byzantinon heortologion* (Constantinople, 1899), p. 136.

38 Pierre Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient histoire et géographie, des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985), pp. 96–97.

39 Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska (eds.), *L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336, Bibliotheca 'Ephemerides liturgicae' Subsidia 80* (Rome, 1995), pp. 170–173.

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41 Norman P. Tanner (ed.) and Giuseppe Alberigo (trans.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. V.1, Nicaea I to Lateran V* (London, 1990), pp. 144–145; For the abandonment of relics during church-consecrations, see Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum*, col. 427; Gus George Christo, *The Consecration of a Greek Orthodox Church according to Eastern Orthodox Tradition: A Detailed Account and Explanation of the Ritual Lewiston* (Lewiston, NY and London, 2005), p. 4; John Mendham (trans.), *The Seventh General Council, the Second of Nicaea, in Which the Worship of Images Was Established, with Copious Notes from the "Caroline Books" Compiled by Order of Charlemagne for Its Confutation* (London, 1850), p. 457.

42 Marie-France Auzépy, 'Les Isauriens et l'espace sacre: l'eglise et les reliques', in Michel Kaplan (ed.), *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident* (Paris, 2001), pp. 13–24, (reprinted) in *L'histoire des iconoclastes*, Bilan des Recherches 2 (Paris, 2007), p. 21.

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46 Ibid., p. 121.

47 John Wortley, 'Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V and the Relics', *ByzF*, 8 (1982): pp. 270–271.

48 I thank Nancy Ševčenko for sharing this information with me.

49 Henry Marriott Bannister, 'The Introduction of the Cultus of St Anna into the West', *EHR*, 69 (1903): pp. 109–111; Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige Anna: ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum* (Düsseldorf, 1930), pp. 73–74. The trip began in 5 October 710 [Louis Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber pontificalis* (2 vols, Paris, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 389, 394, no. 8; Raymond Davis (trans.), *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715* (Liverpool,

2000), p. 92] and was completed in 711 [Andreas N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century, vol. 5, Justinian II, Leontius and Tiberius, 685–711* (Amsterdam,1980), p. 134; Constance Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, 1972), p. 134].

50 Bannister, 'The Introduction', pp. 109–111; Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige*, pp. 73–74. The same view is repeated by Remigius Bäumer and Leo Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon* (6 vols, St. Ottilien, 1988), vol. 1, p. 164.

51 Discussed in Chapter 3. For now, see Myrtilla Avery, 'The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome', *ABull*, 7 (1925): p. 143; *ODDC* (1975), p. 59.

52 Henri Leclercq, 'Sainte Anne', in *DACL* (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, p. 2166; Hartmann Grisar, *Analecta romana: dissertazioni, testi, monumenti dell'arte riguardanti principalmente la storia di Roma e dei papi nel medievo* (Rome, 1899), p. 173.

53 Bannister, 'The Introduction', p. 111; Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige*, p. 73. Avery makes the same connection which however finds difficult to explain. See Avery, 'The Alexandrian', p. 143, n. 62.

54 Aurenhammer repeats the information of the *Patria* and dates the reconstruction to 710; see *LCI*, p. 141.

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61 Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige*, p. 73.

62 Mai (ed.), *Scriptorum veterum*, p. 218.

63 Schreiner, 'Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) undweitere texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels', p. 223, no. 14.

64 For the translation of the word 'λείψανον', see Lampe, *A Patristic*, p. 796.

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66 'Ἰωάννου φρόντισμα Κομνηνοῦ τόδε Ἄννης τε ρίζης Δουκικῆς τῆς συζύγου οἷς ἀντιδοῦσα πλουσίαν, ἁγνή, χάριν τάξαις ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονοτρόπους'.

67 Janin, *La géographie*, p. 208.

68 Gerasimos Mikragiannanites, 'Κατάλογος χειρογράφων κωδ. Κυριακού Αγίας Άννης', *EEBS*, 28 (1958): p. 94, no. 7.

69 Gerasimos Smyrnakes, *Το Άγιον Όρος* (Karyes Hagiou Orous, 1988), p. 411.

70 Saving a document from the hands of the unfaithful was often mentioned in codices and manuscripts. For example, in the thirteenth century, monk Bessarion, probably an *oikonomos* in the monastery of St Catherine in Sinai, bought from the Arabs ('ἐξηγόρασεν αὐτὴν ἀπό τάς χεῖρας τῶν ἀγαρινῶν') an eleventh-century menologion. See Florentia

Evangelatou-Notara, *Χορηγοί – κτήτορες – δωρητές σε Σημειώματα κωδίκων Παλαιολόγειοι χρόνοι* (Athens, 2000), pp. 70–71, 191–192.

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81 PG 120: col. 192; PG 145: col. 652B.

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91 Evans (ed.), *Byzantium*, p. 52.

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95 Ibid., p. 274; Niki Tsironis, 'Historicity and Poetry in Ninth-Century, Homiletics: The Homilies of Patriarch Photios and George of Nicomedia', in Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen (eds.), *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics* (Leiden and Boston: Brill 1998), p. 297.

96 In his Conception homily, Peter of Argos writes that the month when Joachim and Anna's gifts were rejected was September. This is the Syriac month Gorpiaios, which belongs to the Macedonian lunar calendar, and it is debated to which month it corresponds, which is why Peter of Argos needed to clarify it: 'namely September'. The month differs from region to region [Venance Grumel, *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), pp. 168–175,177–178]. For September, see Richard W. Burgess and Witold Witakowski, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 291, 294; Naphtali Lewis, 'On the Chronology of the Emperor Maurice', *AJP*, 60 (1939): p. 416; Henry Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum: A Treatise on the Chronology of the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1844), p. 464. For July–August, see Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, 'Some Recently Acquired Byzantine Inscriptions at the Istanbul Archaeological, Museum', *DOP*, 32 (1978): p. 18. For August only, see Casper John Jr. Kraemer and Naphtali Lewis, 'A Divorce Agreement from Southern Palestine', *TAPA*, 69 (1938): p. 132, n. 23.

97 PG 100: col. 1356B.

98 PO 19: col. [325], [326]; PO 19: col. [330]; PO 16: col. [79] 'Ταύτην οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐχ ὡς πρώτην ἁπάντων ἑορτῶν εἰσδεξώμεθα;'. This concept is first attested in Andrew of Crete, see PG 97: col. 805A: 'Ἀρχὴ μέν ἡμῖν ἑορτῶν, ἡ παροῦσα πανήγυρις'.

99 Odysseus Lampsides (ed.), *Ἀνδρέου Λιβαδηνοῦ βίος καὶἔργα* (Athens, 1975), pp. 112, 258.

100 Ibid., p. 109. Andrew Levadenos was endangered and believed that he was rescued after the Virgin's intervention, which explains his devotion to her; see Martin Hinterberger, 'Ο Ανδρέας Λιβαδηνός, συγγραφέας/γραφέας λόγιων κειμένων, αναγνώστης/γραφέας δημώδων κειμένων: ο ελληνικός κώδικας 525 του Μονάχου', in David Holton and Tina Lendari and Ulrich Moennig and Peter Vejleskov (eds.), *Κωδικογράφοι, συλλέκτες, διασκευαστές και εκδότες. Χειρόγραφα και εκδόσεις της όψιμης Βυζαντινής και πρώιμης Νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, Πρακτικά συνεδρίου που πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Ινστιτούτο της Δανίας στην Αθήνα 23–26 Μαΐου προς τιμήν του Hans Eideneier και Arnold van Gemert* (Herakleion, 2005), p. 37.

101 Konstantinos Kyriakopoulos (ed.), *ΑγίουΠέτρουεπισκόπουΆργουςΒίοςκαιλόγοι* (Athens, 1976), p. 373.

102 Ibid., p. 259.

103 Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London, 1985), p. 152.

104 For the feast of the Mary's Annunciation and its introduction to the Eastern Church, see Martin Jugie, 'La première fête mariale en Orient et en Occident, l' Avent primitive', *ÉO*, 22 (1923): pp. 129–144.

105 PO 16:483.

106 Martin Jugie, *L'Immaculée Conception dans V Écriture Sainte et dans la Tradition* Orientale (Rome, 1952), pp. 29, 31.

107 Cunningham (trans.), *Wider*, p. 24, n. 79; Jugie, *L'Immaculée*, pp. 29–30.

108 Émile Amann (ed. and trans.), *Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins. Introduction, textes, traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1910), p. 133.

109 Cunningham (trans.), *Wider*, p. 26; PG 96: col. 1473C-1476A.

110 PG 100: col. 1336A.

111 Ibid., col. 1336A.

112 PO 19: col. 441:12–3, p. 44:1–3.

113 Dirk Krausmüller, 'Making the Most of Mary: The Cult of the Virgin in the Chalkoprateia from Late Antiquity to the Tenth Century', in Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (eds.), *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. 237; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 25; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Iconography of the Cycle of the Life of the Virgin',

in *The Kariye Djami: Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background* (4 vols, London, 1975), vol. 4, p. 164 (end of eighth – beginning of ninth century); B. Mary Cunningham, '"All-Holy Infant": Byzantine and Western Views on the Conception of the Virgin Mary', *SVTQ*, 50 (2006), p. 137; Hugh Wybrew, *Orthodox Feasts of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary: Liturgical Texts with Commentary* (London, 1997), p. 2.

114 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 30. Nevertheless, it may have been introduced in Naples a century earlier; see Ton Brandenbarg, 'Sainte Anne: A Holy Grandmother and Her Children', in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (ed.), *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1995), p. 36. The feast was 'borrowed from the Byzantine East' (King, *Liturgy*, p. 202) as a result of the infiltration of Greek hagiography from the ninth century in particular in Naples; see Bäumer and Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 155.

115 Hippolyte Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels, 1902), pp. 291–292.

116 Juan Mateos (ed.), *Le Typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no.40, Xe siècle*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 166 (Rome, 1962), pp. 18, 22.

117 Enrica Follieri (ed.), *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, Subsidia hagiographica 63 (2 vols, Bruxelles, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 3, 370; Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 103–104.

118 PG 117: col. 196BC; PG 133: col. 756D; Ioannes Zepos and Panagiotes Zepos (eds.), *Jus Greacoromanum* (reprint of the 1931 edition) (8 vols, Aalen, 1962), vol. 7, p. 319.

119 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 291–292; PG 133: col. 756C, 757B. Janin notes that in variants of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* the feast is also celebrated in the church of the Theotokos Evouranois, see Janin, *La géographie*, p. 184; Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 292, n. 6.

120 Gérard Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier Palestino–Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe Siecle)*, Subsidia hagiographica 30 (Bruxelles, 1958), p. 109.

121 PG 127: col. 596A.

122 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 30.

123 PG 102: col. 560B; Mango (trans.), *The Homilies*, p. 174. That it marks the beginning of salvation is stated also by Gregory Palamas [Veniamin (trans.), *Mary*, pp. 1–4, 7].

124 Gérard Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier*, p. 324: 'In Probatica, ubi erat domus Ioachim, Nativitas sanctae Deiparae'. See also Heinrich Goussen, *Über Georgische Drucke und Handschriften. Die Festordnung und der Heiligenkalender des altchristlichen Jerusalems* (München, 1923), p. 31.

125 Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (trans.), *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915), p. 654 and n. 2.

126 Bernard Flusin, 'Palestinian Hagiography (Fourth-Eighth Centuries)', in Stephanos Efthymiades (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume I: Periods and Places* (Farnham, 2011), p. 201; *CSCO* 205:35; Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier*, p. 89.

127 Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier*, p. 45.

128 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 395.

129 Simon Claude Mimouni, *Les traditions anciennes sur la Dormition et l'Assomption de Marie: études littéraires, historiques et doctrinales* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), p. 239; Stephen J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford, 2002), p. 57.

130 Vincent and Abel believed that it is in Jericho where Joachim spent forty days after the rejection of his gifts. They argue that an echo of the *Protevangelion*'s account is found in the rock-cut church of Mary built in 470 in Jericho; see Felix-Marie Abel, 'Sanctuaires marials en Palestine', in Hubert du Manoir (ed.), *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge* (8 vols, Paris, 1956), vol. 4, p. 856. Nevertheless, the earliest archaeological evidence on the connection of Mary's parents to Jericho is an inscription in the main church of the

monastery of Mary in Choziba, which refers to Joachim and dates from the Latin period (1099–1291) (*CIAP* 2004, p. 78), and an inscription found in the monastery of St Gerasimos near Jericho which refers to Mary's parents and is accompanied by thirteenth-century frescoes (*CIAP* 2004, pp. 80–81). Patrich argues that the tradition according to which the left foot of St Anna reached Mount Athos in the seventeenth century originated in this church; see Joseph Patrich, 'The cells (Ta kellia) of Choziba, Wadi El-Qilt', in Giovanni Claudio Bottini and Leah Di Segni and Eugenio Alliata (eds.), *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land, New Discoveries: Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo, OFM* (Jerusalem, 1990), p. 212. The earliest evidence of the tradition that locates the house of Joachim in Jericho goes back to the Latin rule in Jerusalem, when various traditions around Mary's life emerged in an effort of the Latins to associate events of the life of Christ and his mother to the Holy Land, see Jaroslav Folda, 'The Crusader Period and the Church of saint Anne at Sepphoris', in Rebecca Martin Nagy [et al.] (eds.), *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture* (Raleigh, NC, 1996), pp. 104–105.

131 Mary B. Cunningham, 'The Use of the "Protoevangelion of James" in Eighth-Century Homilies on the Mother of God', in Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (eds), *The Cult of the Mother of God In Byzantium: Texts and Images* (Farnham, 2011), p. 166.

132 Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, p. 116; Averyl Cameron, 'Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium', *Past and Present*, 84 (1979): pp. 3–35, (reprinted) in *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London, 1981), XVIII, p. 18; José Grosdidier de Matons, 'Liturgie et Hymnographie: Kontakion et Canon', *DOP*, 34 (1980–1981): p. 39.

133 Translation by Cunningham, 'The Use', p. 166. For the original text, see Paul Maas and Constantine A. Trypanis (eds.), *Sancti Romani Melodi cantica: cantica genuina* (Oxford, 1963), p. 276, verses 3–4.

134 Grosdidier de Matons, 'Liturgie', p. 39.

135 Gharib [et al.], *Testi mariani*, p. 695.

136 Averyl Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds Its Symbol', *JTS*, 29 (1978): pp. 79–108, (reprinted) in *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London, 1981), XIV, p. 87.

137 Cunningham (trans.), *Wider*, p. 23, n. 37. For the text of Xanthopoulos, see PG 147: col. 292.

138 PG 97: cols 805–882, 1305–1329. Kazhdan [Aleksandr Petrovich Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)* (Athens, 1999), p. 44 and n. 27] questions the veracity of some of the Entry homilies written by Andrew of Crete and argues that they have been proved to be works of George of Nikomedia.

139 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, pp. 25–26 and n. 34. This is view is also supported by Bäumer and Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 2, p. 602; Joseph Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie de Byzance* (Paris, 1976), p. 112; Amann (ed. and trans.), *Le Protévangile*, p. 133. For the *kontakion* of Melodos, Jean Baptiste Pitra (ed.), *Analecta sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata* (Paris, 1876), vol. 1, pp. 198–201; *CMP* (1974), pp. 116–19; Luigi Gambero, Luigi, *Mary and the Fathers of the Church: The Blessed Virgin Mary in Patristic Thought*, Thomas Buffer (trans.) (San Francisco, 1999), p. 328.

140 Nicholas Oikonomides (ed.), *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 223. For the dating of this treatise, see ibid., p. 81.

141 Wolfgang Lackner, 'Ein byzantinisches Marienmirakel', *Byzantina*, 13.2 (1985): p. 850 for the depiction and dating of the text.

142 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 26, n. 8.

143 Stefano Antonio Morcelli (ed.), *Menologion ton euangelion heortastikon sive Kalendarium Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ e Bibliotheca* (2 vols, Rome, 1788), vol. 1, p. 19: 'ΜΗΝΗ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΩ Η ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ'.

144 Krausmüller, 'Making', p. 229; Antonopoulou, *The Homilies*, p. 165; Mary Jerome Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple: An Historical and Literary Study* (Washington, 1941), p. 50.

145 Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche: von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (3 vols, Leipzig, 1937), vol. 1, pp. 28, 30; Elena Velkova-Velkovska, 'The Liturgical Year in the East', in Anscar J. Chupungco (ed.), *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Liturgical Time and Space* (5 vols, Collegeville, MN, 2001), vol. 5, p. 157, n. 2.
146 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 30; For the Orvikiou church, see Janin, *La géographie*, p. 207.
147 PG 117: col. 37C.
148 Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, pp. 42–43, 49.
149 Follieri (ed.), *I calendari*, vol. 1, pp. 328, 331; Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 16–17.
150 Zepos and Zepos (eds.), *Jus Greacoromanum*, p. 319.
151 Ruth Macrides and J. A. Munitiz and Dimiter Angelov (trans.), *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Farnham, Surrey, UK and Burlington, VT, 2013), p. 194–195.
152 Mateos (ed.), *Le Typicon*, pp. 18, 22.
153 Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, pp. 155, 164.
154 Celeste Chevalier, 'Mariologie de Romanos (490–550 environ), le roi des melodes', *RSR*, 28 (1938): p. 67.
155 For the Great Entrance, see Robert Taft, *The Great Entrance* (Rome, 1975).
156 Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier*, pp. 324–325.
157 Ibid., p. 391.
158 Ibid., p. 291.
159 Kyriakopoulos (ed.), *ΑγίουΠέτρου*, pp. 373–374.
160 Goussen, *Über Georgische*, p. 38.
161 Michel Tarchnischvili (ed. and trans.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (Ve-VIIe siècle), T. 2* (Louvain, 1960), p. 52, no. 1368.
162 Ibid., p. 52, no. 1373.
163 Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier*, p. 391.
164 Ibid., pp. 105, 389.
165 Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier*, pp. 105, 225.
166 Georgios N. Filias, *Οι θεομητορικές εορτές στη λατρεία της εκκλησίας: ιστορία, περιεχόμενο και επιτέλεση των θεομητορικών εορτών με βάση τις εγκωμιαστικές Ομιλίες της εκκλησιαστικής γραμματείας* (Athens, 2004), pp. 45–46.
167 Amann (ed. and trans.), *Le Protévangile*, p. 46, n. 2. The eighth-century date has been accepted by Kishpaugh, see Kishpaugh, *The Feast*, p. 30; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 28; Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Iconography of the Cycle of the Life of the Virgin', in Paul Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami: Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background* (4 vols, London, 1975), vol. 4, p. 164.
168 Cunningham (trans.), *Wider*, p. 26.
169 See Ermanno M. Toniolo, 'Sull' ingresso della vergine nel santo dei santi. Una finale inedita di omelia bizantina', *Marianum*, 36 (1974): pp. 102–103.
170 Krausmüller, 'Making', p. 232.
171 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 243.1, 290–1.1; PG 133: cols 756C, 756D, 757B. See also the Menologion of Basil II, PG 117: cols 172D-173AB.
172 Mateos (ed.), *Le Typicon*, pp. 18, 22.
173 PG 117: cols 172D-173AB.
174 Follieri (ed.), *I calendari*, vol. 2, p. 86.
175 Christopher Veniamin (trans.), *Mary the Mother of God: Sermons by Saint Gregory Palamas* (Dalton, PA, 2005), p. 31.
176 Immanuel Bekker (ed.), *Codinus Curopalates De Officialibus Palatii Cpolitani et de officiis magnae ecclesiae liber*, CSHB 15 (Bonn, 1839), p. 80; Jean Verpeaux (ed.), *Traité des offices Pseudo-Kodinos* (Paris, 1966), p. 242, line 3; PG 157: col. 96.
177 Zepos and Zepos (eds.), *Jus Greacoromanum*, p. 319.

178 PG 106: col. 1006A; Cunningham (trans.), *Wider*, p. 139; Lampsides (ed.), *Ἀνδρέουλιβαδηνοῦ*, p. 109. Kosmas Vestitor wrote also kontakia on Anna's Conception, see Sophronios Eustratiades, 'Ταμεῖον Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ποιήσεως', *E Ph* 36, (1937): p. 428.
179 Morcelli (ed.), *Menologion*, p. 19 'ΜΗΝΗ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΩ Θ ΕΙϹ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΙΩΑΚΕΙΜ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΝΗϹ'; Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 30, 841.
180 *CSCO* 205:35; Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier*, p. 89.
181 Garitte (ed.), *Le Calendrier*, p. 80: 'Annae, Eupraxiae, Olympiadis, et Cypriani patriarchae Antiochiae et Justinae virginis encratitae et martyris, et Georgii'.
182 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 841.
183 PG 117: cols 37D-39A.
184 Follieri (ed.), *I calendari*, vol. 1, pp. 455, 464; Ibid., pp. 377–378.
185 PG 133: col. 757; Ruth Macrides, 'Justice under Manuel I Komnenos: Four Novels on Court Business and Murder', in Dieter Simon (ed.), *Fontes minores* (11 vols, Frankfurt am Main, 1981), vol. 4, p. 150 (Feast of the Dormition).
186 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 30.
187 Ibid., p. 841.
188 Paul Magdalino, 'Medieval Constantinople', in *Constantinople Médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), pp. 7–117, (reprinted) in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), I, p. 26, n. 53.
189 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 842.
190 For the date of its composition, see Ihor Ševčenko, 'Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period', in Antony Bryer and Judith Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977), p. 115; Huxley [George Huxley, 'On the Vita of St. Stephen the Younger', *BMGS*, 18.1 (1977): p. 10] argues that we cannot known the date. Auzépy, Efthymiades and Featherstone, Kazhdan and Talbot argue for 809, see Marie-France Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre; introduction, édition et traduction* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 8–9, 18; Stephanos Efthymiades, 'Hagiography from the "Dark Age" to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes (Eighth-Tenth Centuries)', in Stephanos Efthymiades (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume I: Periods and Places* (Farnham, 2011), p. 100; Stephanos Efthymiades and Jeffrey Michael Featherstone, 'Establishing a Holy Lineage: Theodore the Stoudite's Funerary Catechism for His Mother (BHG 2422)', in Michael Grünbart (ed.), *Theatron: rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2007), p. 18; Aleksandr Petrovich Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database Project* (Washington, DC, 1998), p. 94. For Stephen's mother, see Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 261; *PMZ*, pp. 137 # 442. Rouan (Auzépy) argues that the year of its composition is 807, see Marie-France Rouan, 'Une Lecture "iconoclaste" de la Vie d'Etienne le Jeune', *TM*, 8 (1981): p. 415.
191 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, p. 94; PG 100: col. 1080A. The Blachernai cured also illnesses. Leo's first wife Thephano was nursed and died in the church of the Blachernai, see Patricia Karlin-Hayter, 'Vita S. Euthymii', *Byz*, 25–27 (1955–1957): p. 50: . . . καί ἡ ἀοίδιμος βασιλὶς Θεοφανὼ ἐν τῷ τῆς θεομήτορος ναῷ τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις νοσηλευόμενη παραγένετο . . . ἐν δέ τῇ δεκάτῃ νοεμβρίου μηνός η τιμία βασιλὶς . . . πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν.
192 PG 100: col. 1976C.
193 Sebastian Brock (trans.), *Bride of Light: Hymns on Mary from the Syriac Churches* (Kottayam, 1994), p. 98.
194 Mary Hansbury (trans.), *Jacob of Serug: On the Mother of God* (Crestwood, NY, 1998), p. 11.
195 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, p. 95; PG 100: col. 1080A.

196 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, p. 94.
197 Ibid., p. 92.
198 Vitalien Laurent, 'La vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa', *SubsHag*, 29 (1956): p. 69.9–12. That it is Samuel's mother, see ibid., p. 71.27. In the life of St Eutychios, the dedication of a child to God was an act of imitation of Hanna, mother of Samuel; see PG 86: col. 2280D.
199 Ibid., p. 92; PG 100: col. 1076B. In his Nativity homily, Andrew of Crete writes than after the rejection of gifts the apocryphal Anna imitated the biblical Hanna and went to the church and prayed; see PG 97: col. 816B.
200 Amphilochios in his homily *on Virgin Mary, Symeon and Hanna* associated the New Testament Anna with the biblical Hanna: 'Καὶ ἦν Ἄννα προφῆτις . . .· Ὄντως ἄννα ἡ Ἄννα· συνέδραμεν τῇ τῶν τρόπων εὐδοξίᾳ ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος προσηγορία. . . . Στέφανος τῶν χηρῶν ἡ Ἄννα·'. See PG 39: col. 49C-52A.
201 Kyriakopoulos (ed.), *ΑγίουΠέτρου*, p. 166 verses 280–287.
202 PG 145: col. 652.
203 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, pp. 101, 116; PG 100: cols 1105–1108; PMZ #450; Ševčenko, 'Hagiography', p. 128; Kazhdan and Talbot, 'Women', pp. 394–395. It was common for the wealthy during Iconoclasm to leave Constantinople and go to Bithynia; see Eleonora Kountoura-Galake, *Byzantine Clergy and Society in the Dark Centuries* (Athens, 1996), pp. 169–170.
204 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, pp. 133–135; Kazhdan, *A History*, pp. 189–190.
205 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, p. 134.
206 Katerina Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα στη μέση βυζαντινή εποχή: κοινωνικά πρότυπα και καθημερινός βίος στα αγιολογικά κείμενα* (Athens, 2005), p. 169.
207 Émile De Strycker (ed.), *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques / recherches sur le papyrus Bodmer 5 avec une édition critique du texte grec et une traduction annotée* (Brussels, 1961), p. 72; Tischendorf (ed.), *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 5.
208 Sam 1:6.
209 Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, pp. 275–280.
210 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, p. 231; Kazhdan, *A History*, p. 190.
211 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, pp. 18–19. See also Cecily Hennessy, 'Iconic Images of Children in the Church of St Demetrios, Thessaloniki', in Antony Eastmond and Liz James (eds.), *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*: *Studies Presented to Robin Cormack* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 160; Judith Herrin, 'Women and Faith in Icons in Early Christianity', in Raphael Samuel and Gareth Stedman Jones (eds.), *Culture, Ideology and Politics: Essays for Eric Hobsbawm* (London, 1982), pp. 70–71.
212 Kazhdan and Talbot, 'Women', p. 395.
213 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 264:54. ('Ἡ ὁσία Ἄννα τυπτομένη πρὸς τὸ κατειπεῖν τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου').
214 Kazhdan and Talbot, 'Women', p. 395.
215 Auzépy (ed.), *La vie d'Étienne*, p. 147; Janin, *Les églises*, pp. 135, 210. No other evidence survives about this church. See also Kazhdan and Talbot, *Dumbarton*, pp. 22–23.
216 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 849: '. . . νεὼν τῇ μητρὶ τῆς Θεομήτορος αὐτὴ ἀνεγεῖραι κατεδυσώπει.' For a translation of this part, see Alice-Mary Talbot, 'St. Anthousa of Mantineon', in Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, DC, 1998), p. 17. See also Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious*, p. 238. For the location of Mantineon, see Clive Foss, 'St. Autonomus and His Church in Bithynia', *DOP*, 41 (1987): p. 189. As Constas notes, St Anthousa of Mantineon should not be confused with St Anthousa, daughter of Constantine V, see Nicholas Constas, 'Life of St. Anthousa Daughter of Constantine V', in Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, DC, 1998), p. 21.

217 Alicia Walker, 'Wife and Husband: "A Golden Team"', in Ioli Kalavrezou (ed.), *Byzantine Women and Their World* (Cambridge and New Haven, 2003), p. 218.
218 Nathalie Delierneux, 'Littérature des hommes, biographie des "anges": Quelques remarques d'hagiographie feminine (VIIIe-Xe siècle)', in Paolo Odorico and Panagiotes Agapetos (eds.), *Les Vies des Saints à Byzance. Genre littéraire ou biographie historique?* (Paris, 2004), p. 352.
219 Holger A. Klein, 'Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople', in Franz Alto Bauer (ed.), *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft, Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen – Gestalt und Zeremoniell' Internationales Kolloquium 3./4. Juni 2004 in IstanbulBYZAS 5* (Istanbul, 2006), p. 93.
220 The twenty-sixth *Neara* of Leo VI reads: 'Marriage is a great and valuable gift of God and the Creator to human beings. . . . it benefits human life with the childbearing'. See Spyros N. Troianos (trans.), *Oi Neares Leontos St΄ tou Sophou* (Athens, 2007), p. 111. See also the *Neara* no 98, ibid., p. 273; Talbot, 'Women', p. 123; Aleksandr Petrovich Kazhdan, 'Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries', *DOP*, 44 (1990): p. 132. Already in the sixth century, the high status of an empress was acquired partly by motherhood and partly by her marriage to an emperor; see Pauline Allen, 'Contemporary portrayals of the Byzantine empress Theodora (A.D. 527–548)', in Barbara Garlick and Suzanne Dixon and Pauline Allen (eds.), *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views* (New York and London, 1992), p. 93; Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and London, 1982), p. 28.
221 PMZ 140 # 448.
222 Ibid., p. 444.
223 Ibid., p. 458; Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, p. 70.
224 Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, pp. 72, 44; Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 314.
225 Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, p. 72.
226 Era L. Vranouse (ed.), *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της Μονής Πάτμου. Α', Αυτοκρατορικά-Διπλωματική έκδοσις-γενική εισαγωγή – ευρετήρια – πίνακες* (Athens, 1980), p. 9.
227 Graef, *Mary*, p. 148.
228 Prayers to goddesses who protected childbirth and miraculous pregnancies of deities occur in ancient Greece; see Noel Robertson, 'Greek Ritual Begging in Aid of Women's Fertility and Childbirth', *TAPA*, 113 (1983): pp. 146, 153–154, 157.
229 Bissera V. Pentcheva, 'Epigrams on Icons', in Liz James (ed.), *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 126, 209 (Appendix): 'Στεῖρα πρὶν Ἄννα· σὺ δὲ τεχθεῖσα ξένως στειρώσεως τὴν θλίψιν ἐξῆρας, κόρη'.
230 Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, p. 43.
231 Ibid., p. 293; For her life, see Kazhdan and Talbot, *Dumbarton*, pp. 108–109.
232 Anastasia Bakaloude, 'Αποτροπαϊκά φυλακτά της πρώτης βυζαντινής περιόδου: Η λειτουργία των απεικονίσεων και των επωδών. Ο ρόλος των Χριστιανών Αγίων', *Byzantina*, 19 (1998): p. 212.
233 Jeffrey Spier, 'Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition', *JWI*, 56, (1993): pp. 28–30. For dating of this intaglio to the middle Byzantine period, see ibid., pp. 31, 56 no 56 and pl. 5a.
234 Ibid., p. 43.
235 'Καὶ ἦλθον πνεύματα ἑπτὰ συνδεδεμένα και συμπεπλεγμένα . . . ἡ Ἀπάτη . . . ἡ Ἔρις . . . ἡ Κλωθώ . . . ἡ Ζάλη . . . ἡ Πλάνη . . . ἡ Δύναμις . . . ἡ Κακίστη.' Chester Charlton McCown (ed.), *The Testament of Solomon, Edited from Manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 31–32.
236 Wilhelm Gemoll (ed.), *Nepualii fragmentum Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀντιπάθειαν καὶ συμπάθειαν et Democriti Περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν* (Striegau, 1884), section 40: 'Γυνὴ ἔγκυος ὄφιν οἱονδηποτοῦν ὑπερβᾶσα ἐκτιτρώσκει'. Nevertheless, inscriptions from ancient Greek oracles point to the fact that snakes facilitated conception; see Louise

Wells, *The Greek Language of Healing from Homer to New Testament Times* (Berlin and New York, 1998), p. 34.

237 Liz James, 'Art and Lies: Text, Image and Imagination in the Medieval World', in Antony Eastmond and Liz James (eds.), *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Pressented to Robin Cormack* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 160.

238 Valerie Karras (trans.), 'Life of St. Elisabeth the Wonderworker', in Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, DC, 1996), p. 123, n. 29; Bäumer and Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 154. For a different view, see Paul Halsall (trans.), 'Life of St. Thomais of Lesbos', in Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, DC, 1996), p. 299.

239 Laurent, 'La vie merveilleuse', p. 69.7–8; PMZ 138 # 446; For his life, see Kazhdan and Talbot, *Dumbarton*, pp. 83–84.

240 Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, pp. 29–30.

241 Ibid., p. 72.

242 Brigitte Pitarakis, 'Female Piety in Context: Understanding Developments in Private Devotional Practices', in Maria Vassilake (ed.), *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 156–157.

243 Ibid., p. 124.

244 Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, p. 148.

245 See for example Eirini Panou, 'Female Sponsorship in Macedonian Churches during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period' (forthcoming).

246 'Λέων δέ . . . εἶχε δὲ συμπνέοντα αὐτῷ καὶ συντρέχοντα Ἀρτάβασδον . . . ᾧ καὶ συνέθετο δοῦναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα εἰς γυναῖκα· ὃ καὶ πεποίηκεν . . . εἶχε δὲ συμφωνοῦντα αὐτῷ καὶ συντρέχοντα Ἀρτάυασδον . . . ὃν καὶ γαμβρὸν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἄνναν τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν'. See C. De Boor (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia* (2 vols, Hildesheim, 1963), vol. 2, pp. 386, 395.

247 'ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάυασδος κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας ἀνεστήλωσεν', see ibid., p. 415.

248 PMZ 137 # 443.

249 Judith Herrin, 'Changing Functions of Monasteries for Women during Byzantine Iconoclasm', in Lynda Garland (ed.), *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience, 800–1200* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 10.

250 Liz James, 'Building and Rebuilding: Imperial Women and Religious Foundation in Constantinople in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries', in Antony Hirst (ed.), *Basilissa: Belfast, Byzantium and Beyond* (Belfast, 2004), vol. 1, p. 58; James, *Empresses*, p. 151.

251 For further details, see Panou, 'Patronage in the Patria'.

252 Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn, 1988), pp. 411, 439, 520, 524, 528.

253 Preger (ed.), *Scriptores*, p. 244; Berger (trans.), *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, p. 178; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 524–525.

254 Berger (trans.), *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, pp. 186–188.

255 Preger (ed.), *Scriptores*, p. 232. Berger (trans.), *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, p. 164.

256 That Leo did not destroy any relics, see Marie-France Auzépy, 'Les Isauriens et l'espace sacre: l'eglise et les reliques', in Michel Kaplan (ed.), *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident* (Paris, 2001), pp. 13–24, *(reprinted)in* L'histoire des iconoclastes, Bilan *des* Recherches *2 (Paris, 2007), pp. 341–352*.

257 Immanuel Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, CHBS 48 (Bonn, 1838), p. 60. For Theodora's role in the restoration of images and the motives behind it, see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium*, pp. 448–449.

258 Dorothy Abrahamse and Douglas Domingo-Forasté, 'Lives of Sts David, Symeon and George of Lesbos', in Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, DC, 1998), p. 223.

259 PMZ 137 # 443; PMZ 138 # 445.
260 Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, pp. 90, 628, 658, 757, 823.
261 Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 441.
262 Liz James, 'Goddess, Whore, Wife or Slave: Will the Real Byzantine Empress Please Stand Up?', in Anne J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference held at King's College London, April 1995* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 135; Taxiarches Kollias, 'The Horse in the Byzantine World', in Stavros Lazaris (ed.), *Le cheval dans les sociétés antiques et médiévales. Actes des Journées internationales d'étude (Strasbourg, 6–7 novembre 2009)* (Turnhout, 2012), p. 91.
263 Gilbert Dagron, 'Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine', *DOP*, 31 (1977): pp. 8, 25.
264 Judith Herrin, *Women in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (London, 2002), p. 197.
265 James, 'Building', p. 60.
266 For example, Pulcheria's connection to the Virgin Mary has been considered a post-Iconoclastic 'imaginative development'; see Averyl Cameron, 'The Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Religious Development and Myth-Making', in Robert Norman Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary: Papers Read at the 2001 Summer Meeting and the 2002 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2004), p. 11; Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 354.
267 Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025–1204: Power, Patronage, and Ideology* (Harlow, 1999), p. 94.
268 Donald Attwater (trans.), Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 55–68.
269 Bissera V. Pentcheva, '"The Virgin of Constantinople: Power and Belief," Essay and Catalogue Entries', in Ioli Kalavrezou (ed.), *Byzantine Women and Their World* (Cambridge and New Haven, 2003), p. 115.
270 On the placement of the relics of Mary to the Blachernai according to Maximos the Confessor, see Shoemaker, 'The Cult of Fashion', pp. 56–61. On the dating of Maximos's, *The Life of the Virgin*, see Stephen J. Shoemaker (trans.), *The Life of the Virgin: Maximus the Confessor: Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (New Haven and London, 2012), p. 15.
271 See for example, Judith Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium* (Princeton, 2013), p. 179.
272 Shoemaker, 'The Cult of Fashion', p. 61.
273 PG 98: col. 376B.
274 Lackner, 'Ein byzantinisches', p. 853.
275 Ibid., pp. 852–855.
276 Karlin-Hayter, 'Vita S. Euthymii', p. 4.
277 Ibid., p. 38 (ἐν τῷ τῆς ἁγίας σοροῦ τεμένει τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις). See also, Tougher, *The Reign*, p. 143, n. 55.
278 Mateos (ed.), *Le Typicon*, p. 110.
279 Tougher, *The Reign*, p. 138.
280 Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos: griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin, 2005), p. 78.
281 Campbell Bonner, 'The Maiden's Stratagem', *Byz*, 16 (1942–1943): p. 147. 'ἐκτενῆ οὖν προσευχήν ὥστε διαφυλάξαι αὐτῆς τήν παρθενίαν ἄφθορον'. See ibid., p. 145.
282 Bekker (ed.), *Chronografia*, pp. 225–256.
283 Virgil S. Crisafulli and John W. Nesbitt (eds.), *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 176–177.
284 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 314. St Thecla is directly linked with the prophetess because of her endurance in childlessness and prayer. See Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2001), p. 62.
285 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 170.7, 173–175:15–35; François Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica graecae* (Bruxelles, 1957), p. 8.
286 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 170.7; Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca*, p. 8.

287 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 173–135:15–35; *AASS* October 12: 913A, 915B-917A; Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, p. 43. For the *diaitarioi* on the Great Palace, see Alexandr Petrovich Kazhdan and Michael MacCormick, 'The Social World of the Byzantine Court', in Henry Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), p. 181.
288 The *Synaxarion* of Constantinople contains a very brief notice (under 28 December) of Anna the Younger, daughter of John, *diaitarios* of Blachernai; see Kazhdan and Talbot, 'Women', p. 395. His quotation from the *Synaxarion* is correct but it is on 28 October, not December (p. 392).
289 See page 46 in this volume.
290 Kazhdan and Talbot, 'Women', p. 398.
291 Ibid., p. 397, no 6 and p. 398, no 21 and p. 399 (Abbess of Nikaia: this Anna was sent to prison because she did not denounce the veneration of icons). See ibid., letters no. 42, 96, 289, 85, 316; PMZ 142–3 #452, #453, #453A #454; Thomas Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites (759–826) zwischen Dogma und Pragma: der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 52, 59–60; PG 99: cols 1808–9; Speck (ed.), *Theodore Studites*, p. 312.
292 PMZ 144 # 457; Speck (ed.), *Theodore Studites*, p. 310.
293 Nikolaou, *Η γυναίκα*, p. 204.
294 Ibid., p. 139.
295 Symeon Paschalides (ed.), *Ὁ βίος τῆς ὁσιομυροβλύτιδος Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη* (Thessalonike, 1991), pp. 3, 24; Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike', in Alice-Mary Talbot (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* (Washington, DC, 1996), p. 181, n. 107; Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Byzantine Women, Saint's Lives and Social Warfare', in Emily Albu Hanawalt and Carter Lindberg (eds.), *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare* (Kirksville, MO, 1994), pp. 120–121.
296 Jean Gouillard, 'Le Synodicon de l'orthodoxie', in *TM* (Paris, 1967), vol. 2, p. 95.
297 Ibid., pp. 101–103.
298 Ibid., p. 103.
299 Donald Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250–1500* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 93.
300 Ibid., p. 94.
301 Ibid.
302 Gouillard, 'Le Synodicon', pp. 95, 101, 103.
303 Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, p. 15.
304 Ibid.
305 Averyl Cameron, 'The Anxiety of Images: Meanings and Material Objects', in Angelike Lymberopoulou (ed.), *Images of the Byzantine World: Visions, Messages and Meanings: Studies Presented to Leslie Brubaker* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 55.
306 Kountoura-Galake sees a development in nomenclature during the reign of Constantine V, when Iconophiles were given a second name (surname or family name) as a mark of distinction between them and the Iconoclasts. See Eleonora Kountoura-Galake, 'Iconoclast Officials and the Formation of Surnames during the Reign of Constantine V', *REB*, 62 (2004): pp. 247–253.
307 Davis, *The Cult*, pp. 201, 204.
308 *PMZ* 1999, pp. 136–149.
309 *PBW* 2006 www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw/apps/.
310 *ODB*, p. 102.
311 Cyril Mango, 'The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople', *BZ*, 45 (1952): pp. 380–385, (reprinted) in *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993), vol. 21, p. 385.
312 Majeska, *Russian*, p. 36.

313 Ibid., p. 373. Healing water existed in the Philanthropos church; see Majeska, *Russian*, p. 140.
314 Ibid., p. 140, n. 46.
315 Ibid., p. 140, n. 46 and 370, n. 58.
316 Majeska, *Russian*, p. 370.
317 Bonner, 'The Maiden's', pp. 145–146; Majeska, *Russian*, p. 370, n. 52.
318 Krijnie N. Ciggaar, 'Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais', *REB*, 1 (1976): p. 250. Nevertheless, it could be that different pilgrims took different tours around the city and they were shown fewer relics even in the same shrine; see Majeska, 'Russian Pilgrims', p. 95. For divergences in accounts on the location of Marian relics in twelfth-century Constantinople, see John Wortley, 'The Marian Relics at Constantinople', *GRBS*, 45 (2005): p. 16.
319 Petra Melicharová, 'Crown, Veil and Halo: Confronting Ideals of Royal Female Sanctity in the West and in the Byzantine East in Late Middle Ages (13th–14th Century)', *Byz*, 78 (2007): p. 339.
320 Majeska, *Russian*, p. 332, n. 122.
321 Raymond Janin, 'Etudes de topographie byzantine', *EO*, 36 (1937): p. 150; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, p. 441.
322 Albrecht Berger, 'Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople', in Nevra Necipoglu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life* (Leiden and Boston, 2001), pp. 86–87, nos 16, 18.
323 Bonner, 'The Maiden's', p. 144.
324 Ibid., p. 146.
325 Ibid., pp. 144–145; Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca*, p. 2028.
326 Bonner, 'The Maiden's', pp. 149, 151–152.
327 Ibid., p. 148.
328 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 395.
329 Ibid., p. 408.
330 Ibid., p. 559.
331 Ibid., p. 731.
332 Goussen, *Über Georgische*, p. 24.
333 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 174, 747.
334 Ibid., p. 173, verses 20–1 and 24–5; *AASS* October 12: 916D; Kazhdan and Talbot, *Dumbarton*, pp. 21–22.
335 Euphemia appears to be the sister of a fifth-century Syriac martyr, Mary, and John of Ephesos composed Euphemia's life; see Sebastian Brock (trans.), *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 124–133. For the dating of his work, see Jan Jacob Van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus: A Monophysite Historian in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Groningen, 1996), p. 77.
336 Majeska, *Russian*, p. 322, n. 58. That women dressed up as men to enter a monastery is a commonplace in saints' lives; see Attwater (trans.), Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends*, p. 51. For bibliography on transvestite saints, see Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago, 2003), p. 229, n. 62.
337 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 124.4, 156.3; Mateos (ed.), *Le Typicon*, pp. 64, 74; *AASS* October 9:520A-521A.
338 Janin, *La géographie*, (enclosed map) 8B; Mateos (ed.), *Le Typicon*, p. 74.
339 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, pp. 837.7: 2–3; Cordula Scholz, *Graecia sacra: Studien zur Kultur des mittelalterlichen Griechenland im Spiegel hagiographischer Quellen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), p. 24.
340 PMZ 1999:140 (448).
341 Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium*, p. 838, verses 20–24.

342 Kazhdan and Talbot, *Dumbarton*, pp. 20–21 (in favour of Bithynia). In Theophanes's *Chronographia* it is signified as a rocky and coastal location in Nikomedeia; see De Boor (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia*, p. 366. In favour of the Greek island are the following references: *AASS* July 5: 486C; Germaine Da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Grece aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siecles', *Byz*, 31 (1961): p. 315. See also Janin, *Les églises*, p. 135.

343 Niki Tsironis, 'From Poetry to Liturgy: The Cult of the Virgin in the Middle Byzantine Era', in Maria Vassilake (ed.), *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 99.

344 Brandenbarg, 'Sainte Anne', pp. 54–56.

3 The visual evidence

The representations of St Anna in Byzantium and the West were given scholarly attention by Lafontaine-Dosogne in her book *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident* (1962). Before then, Réau, Croce and Kleinschmidt had dealt primarily with the cult of St Anna in the West; however, their research lacked a thorough examination of texts and material culture.[1] Moreover, in 1985, Freytag, in his *Die autonome Theotokosdarstellung der frühen Jahrhunderte*, considered only those non-narrative images of Mary where she is portrayed with or without Christ, excluding any depiction of her with Anna.[2] Therefore, Lafontaine-Dosogne's publication was not only welcomed by the students of the Mariological cycle (i.e. the pictorial life of Mary) in the East, but it also opened the way for a closer look at representations of Anna in Byzantium.[3] Lafontaine-Dosogne's collection of such a wide range of material, including mosaics, frescoes, icons and manuscripts, both chronologically (from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries) and geographically (Greece, Cyprus, Italy, the Balkans, Constantinople, Ethiopia, to name but a few) is unquestionably of unprecedented usefulness; however it does not cover all the portraits of St Anna and Joachim exhaustively, even in the 1992 revised edition of her work.

In the following pages the iconic imagery of Sts Anna and Joachim will be examined, but not the narrative scenes of the Mariological cycle in which Anna and Joachim appear. This choice was dictated by the fact that they were included in the Marian cycle solely because of their biological relationship with Mary that celebrated the events towards the fulfilment of biblical prophecies concerning the coming of Christ on earth. For this reason, the Mariological cycle does not in itself constitute evidence for the cult of Mary's parents. It is rather the iconic portraits that reveal a distinct religious veneration for Anna and Joachim. Their imagery outside the Marian cycle is rich in symbolism and theological interpretations not otherwise revealed to the student of Byzantine culture. This makes its examination more necessary than ever.[4]

Egypt – Cathedral of Faras (eighth to tenth century)

The date of the construction of the 'Cathedral of Paul' in Faras in Lower Nubia (today an area that covers both the south of Egypt and the north of Sudan) is determined by two foundational inscriptions, in both Greek and in Coptic, to 707;[5] its

frescoes represent the peak of Nubian art.[6] The excavations by the Polish archaeological team under the supervision of Michałowski revealed two depictions of St Anna: the earliest surviving representation of the saint, which dates to the eighth century, and a second one from the tenth century.[7]

In the first image, Anna places her finger on her lips, making the gesture of silence. Briefly, since it has been examined elsewhere in detail,[8] St Anna's gesture is a pictorial reference to the silence that one should keep when considering Mary's birth, because her conception by her reproductively challenged mother, as Anna was,[9] is not easily understood by human reasoning. The image calls on the believer to remain reverently silent in the face of Mary's conception, unlike Heli, who mocked Hanna's silent prayer before her conception of Samuel (Sam. 1.1:13). The image of St Anna in Faras is unique, being the only case I know of a female saint (rather than a personification) adopting the gesture of silence, or the *signum harpocraticum* as it is widely known.[10]

In addition, St Anna's biological relationship with the Virgin is conveyed through a second depiction in the Cathedral of Faras, located north of the entrance to the prothesis. It is largely destroyed, but the upper part of a throne implies that

Figure 3.1 St Anna, Faras Cathedral
(Photo credit: National Museum of Warsaw)

we are dealing with an enthroned figure. The identity of the seated person is made known from the surviving inscription on top of the throne: 'Saint Anna mother, Mary mother'.[11] This image is the earliest enthroned St Anna (possibly in the type of the Virgin Kyriotissa) and will reappear in the Late Byzantine period.[12]

Overall, St Anna's imagery in Nubia declares her motherhood, which contained the message of Christ's Incarnation, rendering genealogical succession the foundational concept behind the veneration of St Anna in Byzantium. In Faras we find the first of a series of iconic images that underline this special relationship between the cult of St Anna and the Virgin that will be cultivated and disseminated in the following centuries.

The second earliest group of depictions of St Anna appear on both Western and Byzantine ground, in Santa Maria Antiqua (Rome, Italy) and possibly in a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas in Paros (Greece).

Santa Maria Antiqua: the Three Mothers[13]

The Three Mothers Anna, Mary and Elisabeth are located in the right nave that leads to the chapel of the medical saints in Santa Maria Antiqua. In a niche on the western wall of the aisle destined for women, the three women hold their children and they are accompanied by a Greek inscription, 'Three Mothers'.[14] All figures are haloed; Christ is distinguished from John the Baptist on his left and from Mary on his right by his mandorla and by his position at the centre of the depiction. This is one of the earliest family portraits of Christ, Mary and Anna, which would become very popular in the West from the thirteenth century onwards. On this eighth-century layer, St Anna is identified by a Latin inscription 'SCA ANNE'. Elsewhere in the same church, there are inscriptions written also in Greek, such as 'IACIμ' for Joachim and 'ANNη' for Anna, which make the names intelligible both to Greeks and to Latins.[15] The inscriptions confirm that the iconographical program was intended to be also understood by a Greek-speaking audience.

The frescoes were painted during the papacy of Paul I (757–767).[16] On the same layer, two scenes from the Mariological cycle survive, the Meeting of Anna and Joachim (the Conception of Mary by Anna), and below it the Nativity of Mary.[17] Referring to the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, Myrtilla had argued that the use of this 'rare subject', combined with the standing figure of St Anna in the Three-Mother depiction, indicates a 'devotion to the mother of the Virgin quite unexpected in Rome and the West until much later'.[18] Myrtilla assumes that a scene from the Mariological cycle and the eighth-century iconic depiction of Anna is a sign of the early spread of the veneration of Anna in the West. However until the eighth century, monumental painting in Italy depicting the cycle of Mary's early years is extremely limited (e.g. Rome, Castelseprio), which prevents us from determining how rare or common a particular scene was.[19] For this reason it is misleading to take the scenes of the Mariological cycle as evidence for the cult of Mary's parents. If the Christological cycle (where the parents of Christ appear) does not prove distinct Marian veneration, likewise the presence of Mary's parents in the Mariological cycle does not presuppose particular veneration of them. As

Figure 3.2 The Three Mothers, Church of Santa Maria Antiqua
(Photo credit: Stephen J. Lucey)

mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Anna and Joachim are included in the iconography of Mary's early life because of their parental relationship with their daughter, but the exalted figure is always Mary. Overall, despite my disagreement with the evidence she adduced, Avery's deduction about the existence of the cult of Anna appears to be correct, but it is justified by the iconic depiction of Anna and not by the Meeting of Anna and Joachim in Santa Maria Antiqua. And since this portrait was unique in its time, it seems to have been an expression of devotion solely to the Virgin herself, and not also to her mother.

Additional evidence supports this interpretation. Avery, for example, linked the iconography of Santa Maria Antiqua with the church of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria in Rome, because the names that appear in the eighth-century list of relics found at the latter church also appear in the iconographical program of the former. Avery did not consider it accidental that Theodotos – a benefactor of Santa Maria Antiqua – was also the restorer of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria.[20] She pointed out that there had been no explanation of the connection between the names of saints appearing in these two churches, nor did she offer one. Theodotos commissioned the painting of the Chapel of Theodotos (left of the sanctuary) in Santa Maria Antiqua during the pontificate of Pope Zaccharias (741–752), but the Three-Mother depiction is prior to Theodotos's patronage, because it was executed between 756–767, as mentioned above. Thus, the chronology rejects any connection between Theodotos, the Three-Mother depiction in Santa Maria Antiqua and the list of relics in Sant'Angelo in Pescheria. The depiction of Anna as a mother relates to eighth-century cultural developments in Italy, which Leveto explains as the eighth- and ninth-century interest of Western theologians in Mary and also as the result of Byzantine infiltration.[21] This interest is also expressed in the dedication by Pope Leo III of a cloth with gold-studded disks representing the Annunciation of Joachim and Anna to the church of Mary *ad Praesepem* (around 798–9 or 799/800).[22] In terms of art production, a single known iconic portrait of St Anna in Italy shows that eighth-century Italian representations were still 'Mariological' in their conception, namely they were perceived as an aspect of the Marian cult. This explains why, after the Three-Mother depiction, it is only in the tenth century that we find another iconic image of St Anna in Italy, when liturgical developments had opened the way for a new attitude towards the Virgin's mother.

On a different level, the inclusion in this book of the Three-Mother depiction in Santa Maria Antiqua is justified by the influence it has on the imagery of Anna in Byzantium. This clarification is important, as Santa Maria Antiqua is considered a product of Western Christianity, which should therefore be excluded from textbooks on Byzantine art history.[23] Of course almost no pre-ninth-century religious painting has survived from Constantinople,[24] so no comparison can be made with the Byzantine capital in this matter. On the other hand, in my opinion it should be recognized that by the eighth century the West had assimilated Byzantine elements into their art, thanks to the manifold relations between Constantinople and Rome that developed from the fifth century on. Scholars such as Andaloro have the role of context in the pre-Iconoclastic Roman art based on both Roman and Byzantine elements in many works with a 'Constantinopolitan stamp' produced in Rome at

that time.[25] The Three-Mother depiction is included in the corpus of St Anna's portraits in Byzantium because it demonstrates that by the eighth century Westerners had become skilled enough to manipulate Byzantine style. In order to demonstrate this, I have accepted the views both of those who support the strong influence of Constantinople on Rome from the fifth century onwards, as well as those deny that Santa Maria Antiqua should ever be included in studies of Byzantine art. This is because the two views need not necessarily contradict each other.

The first view is based on the influence of Constantinople on Rome from the fifth century onwards in art, text production and building activity. Weigel, in his study of the ciborium of St Mark's in Venice, perceives the iconography of its columns as a result of Roman imitation of fifth- and sixth-century Constantinopolitan sculpture exported to Italy.[26] Campanati relies on the ties between Constantinople and Rome established between the reign of Justin II (565–578) and the eighth century, and refers to the fresco of the 'beautiful angel' in Santa Maria Antiqua to argue in favour of the penetration of Byzantine elements into Rome in the sixth century, a view shared by Russo.[27] Sansterre speaks of 'incontestable Byzantine origins of the painting in Rome between 570–650',[28] and notes the beginning of a strong influence of Constantinople on Rome in 570, when Cameron sees 'a whole network of Franco-Byzantine relations',[29] initiated in the fourth century within the framework of public affairs.[30] Lafontaine-Dosogne has included the eighth-century depiction in Santa Maria Antiqua in a volume on the iconography of Mary in the East and not in the West, and Babić refers to the eighth-century iconography of Santa Maria Antiqua in her discussion of the evolution of the Byzantine iconography of Constantinopolitan side chapels.[31] Apart from Santa Maria Antiqua, Russo sees the construction of Santa Maria Maggiore, both in Ravenna and in Bologna, and of Santa Maria in Castelseprio as products of Constantinopolitan artistic influence.[32] Cameron argues that the sixth century is the time when Rome was influenced by Constantinople in terms of textual production around the figure of Mary,[33] which Russo sees as the result of the introduction of the cult of Mary from Constantinople to Rome.[34] Moreover, the reciprocal relationship between Rome and Constantinople was developed in particular during the first half of the sixth century. It is during this period – according to Pani Ermini – that churches in Rome were dedicated to Eastern saints, particularly the oratories of Mary in Santa Maria Antiqua and of Kosmas and Damian.[35] Finally, after the visit of Popes Pelagius I (556–561) and Pelagius II (579–590) to Constantinople, churches in Rome were constructed to house the relics of Eastern saints.[36] Generally, the influence of Constantinople on Rome is implicit in the reciprocal assimilation between the two cities from the fifth century of sculpture, topography, public affairs, cults of saints and text production.

Brenk and Brubaker dispute the Byzantine character of Santa Maria Antiqua and use the iconography of the monument as evidence for the exclusively Western character of the church. Brenk in particular characterizes the decorative program of the church as 'avowedly anti-Byzantine' and Brubaker does not consider Santa Maria Antiqua to be a Byzantine monument because of the 'papal meaning it conveys',[37] specifically in the fact that Eastern Church Fathers were depicted

holding scrolls (written in Greek) on the divine and human will of Christ, which was supported by the Papacy against Byzantine monothelitism.[38] But sculpture, topography, liturgy and text production *can* be used as evidence for the contrary. While the questions raised by Brenk and Brubaker on the Byzantine character of the depictions in Santa Maria Antiqua are viable, a few comments can be made on the views referred to above.

Firstly, the anti-Byzantine message that the frescoes convey and the fact that they were intended for Greek-speaking audiences is not in question;[39] this is indeed the main issue to address here, but from a different perspective, namely that the term 'anti-Byzantine' does not necessarily mean non-Byzantine. Thanks to the influence of Constantinople on Rome from the fifth century on, the West was by the eighth century well acquainted with Byzantine style, and skilled enough to make their case using Byzantine artistic language. An example from a different period, which helps to understand the application of Byzantine style in eighth-century Rome, is the second-century Roman General Aemilius Paullus. In order to commemorate his victory over the Greek King Perseus of Macedonia, Aemilius Paullus built a monument in Greece which is 'closely related to the far more ahistorical Greek relief tradition'.[40] Aemilius Paullus used Greek art to convey a political message to the Greeks, because in this way he would make his statement easily comprehensible to the population targeted by Greek art. Thus, by interaction and osmosis between East and West, from at least the fifth century onwards, the Romans mastered the Byzantine style of fresco painting, which eventually meant clothing a Western monument in Byzantine dress.

Secondly, a depiction resembling that of the Three Mothers in Santa Maria Antiqua is found in the chapel of St Nicholas in the church of Ekatontapyliani in Paros,[41] an incontestably Byzantine monument that dates to the eighth century.[42] Its inclusion in this book is justified (despite the lack of epigraphical identification with Anna) by its iconographical parallelism with the contemporary image of the Three Mother depiction in Santa Maria Antiqua. The Parian image is located on the northern wall, almost attached to the templon, and shows two women, each of whom is holding a baby in her arms. Drosogianne has identified both figures: one is clearly recognizable as St Elisabeth holding John the Baptist, while the second, who is closer to the apse and thus higher in status, is identified as St Anna holding Mary, who is depicted in a mandorla.[43] In Santa Maria Antiqua, Christ is also depicted in a mandorla and placed in front of his mother's chest. The Parian depiction is unique since – as Drossogianne notes – nowhere else is Mary depicted in a mandorla and in front of her mother, in imitation of the Nikopoios type, where Christ is surrounded by a mandorla in front of his mother.[44] Both the Roman and the Parian depictions have been dated to the eighth century; what is intriguing is the similarities between both depictions, which constitute solid evidence that Christianity as a whole assimilated St Anna in her early imagery as a mother. The location of the image in the templon points to early and possibly personal devotion to St Anna in Greece supported only by later examples of Anna in the templon, such as the one in the churches of St Nicholas in Geraki (Greece, thirteenth century) and St Anna at Anisaraki (Crete, 1357), which will be discussed

later. Considering the style, Drosogianne dates the depiction to fifty years earlier than the depiction of the Three Mothers in Santa Maria Antiqua,[45] which, if valid, makes these two depictions the second earliest portraits of Anna in Byzantine art after the Faras representation. The common denominator of these three monuments (Faras, Rome, Paros) is St Anna's promotion as a holy mother, which defines her cult and imagery in Byzantium.

Southern Italy – crypt of St Christine (tenth century)

As well as Santa Maria Antiqua, there is another western monument where an iconic depiction of St Anna has survived, in the crypt dedicated to St Christine in Carpignano (Salento, Puglia). According to an inscription, the portrait was executed in 959.[46] In a niche in the eastern wall, St Anna is standing to the right of the Virgin of the Annunciation and is holding the baby Mary in front of her.[47] This is one of the earliest examples of St Anna being present at the Annunciation, which will be repeated especially after the fourteenth century in Crete. Under Anna a painted *podea* survives, which was made to 'hang under a panel icon',[48] and serves to intensify the liturgical meaning of the iconography, since it is the material traditionally used to cover the holy bema.[49] The *podea* (through its location in the apse) and the Annunciation refer to the same event, the Incarnation of Christ,[50] but there is another reason for its execution. The portrait is accompanied by a Greek inscription: 'Remember Lord, your servant Anna and her child, Amen'.[51] Here a female devotee is linked with a saint of the same name,[52] which also found expression in minor arts, as is seen in Anna Komnene's twelfth-century seal depicting Anna holding Mary.[53] We do not know the name of the donor but Safran asserts that the depiction in Carpignano was executed 'for the mother and the child, most likely after their death, by the husband of Anna'.[54] Thus, we are presumably dealing with an image of votive character,[55] encouraged by the 'preference for iconic decoration, in contrast to the cyclical one, as a function of patronage in rupestrian monuments'.[56] The lack of any crystallized iconographical cycle enabled autonomous decoration, where donors commissioned images that expressed their love for deceased members of their families. If Safran's argument is valid, then in Carpignano the donor's votive image commemorating his wife and child marks the beginning of Anna's role as protector of families in the afterlife. For the husband who has probably lost his beloved wife and child, St Anna – apart from having the same name – personified God's protection of his departed family. In the second chapter we saw that women associated issues of pregnancy and fertility with the mother of the Virgin. It is also likely that, because Anna facilitated pregnancies, children born after supplications to her were probably placed under the protection of the saint for their lifetime, and in the afterlife. In this respect, Anna's maternity receives a more personal touch in Carpignano than in Santa Maria Antiqua, Paros and Nubia, because we know that the fresco is not simply the result of local liturgical practice (*podea*, location on the eastern wall) but also because the epigraph records the donor's possible loss. Moreover, the fact that St Anna was placed next to the honoured saint of the cave-church, St Christine, underlines her special

position in the community of Carpignano. The cult of the saint might have been passed to Southern Italy by the Italo-Greek monks who were 'crucial in popularizing Byzantine saints from the ninth century onwards'.[57] Also in the ninth century, St Anna's Conception of Mary had started to gain ground in Italy, as we can see from a Church calendar (849–872) from Naples, which joins a local calendar with a Byzantine one.[58] The ninth-century merging of two liturgical traditions is underlined by the location of St Anna's portrait next to that of St Christine, whose day is celebrated on 24 July in the Western calendar, while the feast of St Anna is celebrated on 25 July in the East. Thus, iconographical details from the cave-church in Carpignano increase our knowledge of contemporary liturgical traditions in Southern Italy, shown by the introduction of a feast celebrating Mary's Conception by Anna at that time in the region of Naples.

Overall, the supreme connection between the cult of St Anna and the Virgin Mary is the theme of motherhood, based on the belief that both were responsible for exceptional childbirths that resulted in the salvation of humankind, the visual rendering of which finds expression in Sudan, Italy and Greece. Between the eighth and the tenth centuries, Mary always accompanies her mother, demonstrating that Anna's importance is only related to her motherhood. With the passing of time, however, new associations will emerge that will facilitate the spread of the saint's cult. This is what the art of Cappadocia teaches us.

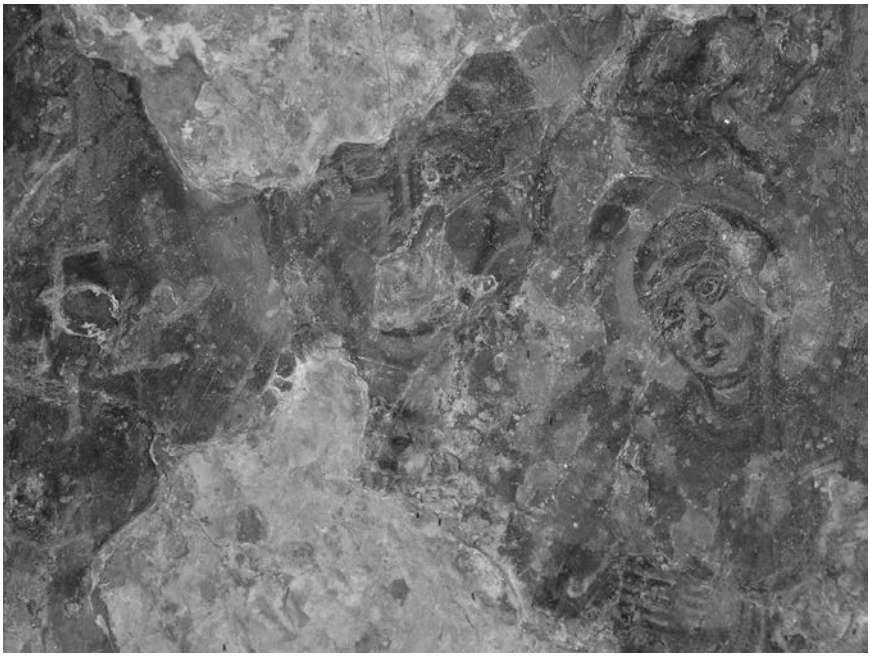

Figure 3.3 St Anna with the Virgin, Crypt of St Christine
(Photo credit: Linda Safran)

Cappadocia (tenth to thirteenth century) – the earliest extensive Mariological cycle

At the beginning of this chapter, it was noted that the Mariological cycle would not be discussed, as it demonstrates veneration for Mary rather than Anna. In Kızıl Çukur, however, several details deserve attention, because they deviate from the iconography of Mary's early life as it became established after Kızıl Çukur, and because they include peculiarities that relate to iconic portraiture and can therefore be studied as such. Apart from being an extended cycle, it also constitutes the first group of illustrations of Mary's early life in Cappadocian art.[59]

The Marian cycle in the chapel of Joachim and Anna at Kızıl Çukur

Most scholars have dated the Mariological cycle in Kızıl Çukur to the late ninth or early tenth century.[60] Although some iconographical details break away from Byzantine tradition, they do not belie the chapel's Byzantine character as reflected in both its style and its iconography.[61]

The cycle is located in the northern chapel, which is dedicated to Anna and Joachim.[62] The iconography incorporates elements seen for the first time in Byzantine monumental art, such as the offering of the royal band to Anna and her representation as a pregnant woman,[63] which are both details of the Conception scene, the earliest one to survive in Byzantine monumental art.[64] Anna is depicted frontally and standing supported by two maids, one of whom places her hand on Anna's abdomen. The depiction accords with the instructions of Soranus (second century) in his *Gynecology* on how maids should handle women during labour: 'And the servants standing at the sides should softly press the mass down toward the lower parts with their hands'.[65] This naturalistic image is not part of the established iconographical cycle of the life of Mary, as developed after Kızıl Çukur. Actually, it is not even part of a cycle, as it was inserted to accentuate Anna's pregnancy. If they are not the result of provincial style, then iconographical deviations underline the importance of specific events for the individual who commissioned the work and thus induct us into this person or community's perceptions of a (female) saint.

Thierry correctly notes that the Marian cycle in Kızıl Çukur depicts the in-flesh conception of Mary, and consequently the human nature of Christ.[66] Grabar saw the depiction of the pregnant Mary on the sixth-century throne of Maximian as a naturalistic element,[67] which is also the case here. However Anna's gestation not only emphasizes her human nature, but also provides visual instructions pertaining to the everyday life of pregnant women, who could thus relate to the image. Sommer has discovered iconographical similarities between the posture of Mary in the third-century catacomb of Priscilla in Rome and depictions of maids in sarcophagi,[68] and already in 1938 Lasarev argued that the Priscilla type of the Galaktotrophousa 'must have been taken directly from life'.[69] Meyer's work has shown that we should be wary of considering depictions of motherhood as accurate imitations of life, but aspects of maternal life have to a certain degree been the

inspiration for many similar images in Christian art.[70] Maids are shown in Christian iconography because of their role in delivering babies and bringing up children, but although Anna's pregnancy depicts an experience common among women, that of labour, it is made unique because she bore an exceptional child (*puer senex*), namely the Theotokos,[71] an experience reserved only for St Anna.

Another detail in the Conception scene is the standing posture of the pregnant Anna that inspired Thierry to label it 'Anna Expecting'.[72] Lafontaine-Dosogne and Grabar went further and entitled the scene 'the Immaculate Conception',[73] but the allusion to the Immaculate Conception in this scene should be reconsidered. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception is inappropriate for Eastern Christianity as it

> breaks the continuation created in the Orthodox Church which emphasized the role of Mary in the Incarnation, and that a series of people were chosen to fulfill this process, shown in her connection with her ancestors, David and Joachim and Anna, and reaches its term at the moment of the Annunciation.[74]

Moreover and in contrast to Thierry and Lafontaine-Dosogne, Kalokyres notes that 'Byzantine art depicted the Orthodox belief that the Virgin was born not without a man, which can be verified by the inscription 'Conception of Anna', that in this scene the depiction of the Kissing of Joachim and Anna and the birth of Mary are depicted together, which presupposes natural conception'.[75] Kalokyres takes the inscription that accompanies the scene of the Kissing of Joachim and Anna literally, but I have shown elsewhere that the Byzantine approach to Anna's pregnancy is related to the spread of the Protevangelion from the ninth century onwards, and not to Mary's state of purity at the time of her conception.[76] Apart from being the result of a donor's preference, emphasis on Anna's conception in Kızıl Çukur may have responded to liturgical developments in the Byzantine capital, since the Conception was among the earliest feasts of Mary's early life to be inserted into the liturgical life of the Eastern Church.[77]

Also in the Conception scene, Anna's head covering is elaborately decorated with a cross and gems,[78] indicating the immense value of the object. The *Protevangelion* emphasizes the noble status of Mary's parents in Judith's reproach of Anna after the rejection of the gifts: 'Take this head covering, the owner of the shop gave it to me but I cannot wear it because I am your servant and [because] it has a royal mark [on it]'.[79] Anna's frustration at her infertility and Joachim's departure (after the rejection of gifts) prompted her refusal to wear the head covering. Her royal band reflected the fact that Anna had all the spiritual, moral and socio-economic prerequisites to make her worthy of becoming part of Christ's female genealogy. Moreover, Anna and Joachim's social supremacy was based on their royal origins,[80] which went back to King David.[81] The Davidic lineage of the 'royal plantation' is attested to in a number of homilies from the eighth century onwards,[82] where they follow David's example in prayer, quoting passages from the Psalms.[83] Their genealogical relationship to David is reflected in the tenth-century *Synaxarion ofConstantinople*, where they appear as members of the royal tribe either of David (Joachim) or of both David and Solomon (Anna). Thierry understood the unpopularity of Anna's wearing the head covering in Byzantine art as the result of a lack of textual references. In the Greek

and earliest editions of the *Protevangelion* that have come down to us Anna decides not to wear the head covering, and since she does in the depiction under discussion, art historians have claimed that this detail was removed from the surviving Greek editions. In other words, as this detail is not mentioned in the *Protevangelion*,[84] its presence in Kızıl Çukur should be explained by non-Greek versions. Lafontaine-Dosogne has argued that in the Kızıl Çukur depictions the artist had consulted an oriental version of the *Protevangelion*.[85] She follows Thierry's view that the painter relied on the Greek text of a 'very old Syriac or Syro-Mesopotamian manuscript, a version more complete than those which have reached us'.[86] Lafontaine-Dosogne has postulated that 'the unusual image that precedes the Birth and doubtless symbolizes the Immaculate Conception of Anna derives from a detail in the original text that quickly disappeared from Greek manuscripts but which had passed into the old Syriac version'.[87] Thierry's and Lafontaine-Dosogne's explanation of the iconography appears to rely too heavily on texts, as it does not leave room for approaches related to genealogy and social status, which seems to be appropriate here. Anna's head covering in Cappadocia is not due to a deviation from the original Greek text, but rather to emphasize her nobility and royal descent. The painter of Kızıl Çukur chose this method to make it evident that, through her forebears, Mary's genealogical tree can be traced back to the kings of Israel, which confirms that her parents and herself were chosen to fulfil the biblical prophecies relating to the salvation of humanity through Christ's birth. Thierry recently accepted the Greek version of the *Protevangelion* as the most influential text for the depiction of the head covering in this scene,[88] which agrees with the overall influence of the text on Kızıl Çukur.[89]

Does the iconography of Kızıl Çukur constitute evidence for Anna's cult in Byzantium, as Thierry claimed?[90] It was argued earlier that iconic portraits rather than the Mariological cycle should be regarded as evidence for the veneration of St Anna. In my opinion, the standing figure of the pregnant Anna is conceptualized in order to emphasize Mary's exceptional past, beginning with her conception by an equally exceptional (however apocryphal) female figure to serve the divine *oikonomia*. In this sense, I believe that Thierry's argument finds confirmation not in this cycle but in the numerous iconic depictions of Anna and Joachim.

Anna and Joachim's iconic portraits

Multivalence characterizes the iconography of Cappadocian churches, and the associations the Byzantines made with Anna and Joachim are given substance in portraits of the two of them together, Anna on her own or with Mary, either standing or in medallions. It is also in Cappadocia that one finds the earliest dated portrait of Joachim in Byzantine art.

Anna as mother

Current scholarship locates the earliest Cappadocian iconic image of Anna with Mary in Direkli Kilise (976/9–1025). Anna holding the baby Mary occupies the northwestern pillar and Mary holding Christ the southwestern pillar, opposite the

church entrance.[91] The motherhood of both Anna and Mary is emphasized here, as well as in Yılanlı Kilise in Irhala (second half of the eleventh century),[92] where Anna is depicted holding Mary on a pillar opposite Zacharias and Elisabeth, the parents of John the Baptist,[93] forming an abridged illustration of Christ's genealogical tree. Thierry and Thierry note that the composition, including the enthroned Christ between the Archangels and John the Baptist, aims at glorifying Christ;[94] thus, apart from promoting Anna's maternity, the presence of the Baptist's parents also makes Christological associations. Christology is the main theological hue that imbues the depictions of St Anna in Byzantine art because, as with Christ's mother, Anna was selected to fulfil the prophecies of Mary giving birth to Christ. Byzantine liturgical texts such as the *Horologion* (*Book of Hours*) bear witness to this, where, on 9 December, reverence of Joachim and Anna is derived from the belief that by celebrating their memory the Incarnated Christ is venerated as well.[95] The *Horologion* encapsulates the central tenet of Iconoclasm, the manifestation of Christ's earthly aspect, which became true through Anna and Joachim.

Glorification of Christ – incarnational role – healing qualities

The ways of demonstrating Anna and Joachim's glorification of Christ are manifold: they are placed next to Christ, next to a cross or close to the sanctuary. Apart from these, Christ is glorified through Anna and Joachim's interaction with the Virgin or the Archangels, or through the healing powers of saints bestowed upon them through Christ. The examples known to us date from the ninth to the thirteenth century and are found nowhere else in such abundance.

Firstly, the church of Peter and Paul in Çavuşin (ninth century)[96] contains one of the earliest portraits of Anna. The saint raises her right hand towards the apse, where either Christ or the cross would have been depicted.[97] In the church on Ali Reis Street in Ortahisar (first quarter of the thirteenth century),[98] St Anna and St Joachim stand in a vaulted arch close to the apse. Joachim holds a scroll, Anna has a small cross in her right hand and her left palm is open towards the spectator; Jolivet-Lévy explains the attribute of the cross as revealing either the painter's confusion between St Anna and a martyr or as an attempt to glorify the saint.[99] It is very common in Cappadocia to see St Anna holding a cross in her right arm, intended to glorify not the saint but Christ. Outside Cappadocia, the Borradaile triptych (988) constitutes the earliest known association of Mary's parents with the glorification of Christ.[100] In this work, Anna and Joachim in medallions frame, together with other saints and martyrs, crosses that are accompanied by the inscription 'Jesus Christ is victorious'.[101] Since the cross symbolizes the salvation of humanity, Anna and Joachim's contribution to this process is depicted in Cappadocia as well.

Moreover, the role of the hand gesture should not be overlooked, as crosses and hand gestures form part of a saint's iconographical 'attributes'. In Cappadocia, for example, Mary's parents often hold their palms open towards the observer in an apotropaic hand gesture meant to glorify Christ.[102] I have been able to distinguish three functions of the open palm in Christian iconography, based on examples from the iconography of the Virgin Mary. Firstly, Kitzinger notes that this gesture is

often adopted by the Virgin and could be an alternative to the Virgin Orans (in supplication).[103] For the Martorana (1154–1166, Italy),[104] however, the same scholar has argued that Anna and Joachim are making 'unusual gestures'[105] when they raise their hands before the spectator with their palms outward. Moreover, Demisch explains the gesture of Mary in the fourteenth-century Santa Maria in Donato in Italy (which imitates exactly the gesture Anna adopts in the Martorana) as either supplication or blessing.[106] The gesture of the open palm is adopted by Anna in both minor arts and monumental painting: the tenth-century Pala d'Oro,[107] Kambazli Kilise (eleventh century),[108] the church on Ali Reis Street in Cappadocia (first half of the thirteenth century) and Hagioi Saranta in Lakonia, Greece (late thirteenth century).[109] Secondly, it has been proposed that in the twelfth-century Kokkinobaphos homilies, Mary is represented holding her palm outwards against those who accuse her of having lost her innocence.[110] Thirdly, Demisch has included it in the gestures of raised hands, which underlined the message of salvation for the beholders.[111] Thus, the open palm alone is commonly understood as supplication, blessing and glorification: the imagery of St Anna and Joachim in Cappadocia lies somewhere between supplication and glorification. Supplication is the intended meaning in and outside Cappadocia, mostly when Anna is not holding Mary in her arms. Alternatively, it invests them with the quality of martyrs, as they bear witness to the glory of God, whom they serve, a meaning intensified by the presence of a cross, a common attribute of both male and female Cappadocian saints.[112]

The second way to glorify Christ in Byzantine Cappadocia is to place Mary's parents in or near the sanctuary. In chapel 23 in Karakli Kilise (eleventh century or shortly afterwards), Anna and Joachim's busts are found in the apse together with Christ and four archangels.[113] Moreover, Jolivet-Lévy has identified them in chapel 19 in Göreme on the two northern pillars towards the sanctuary,[114] in the northern apse in chapel 22 of Karikli Kilise[115] and on the northern wall of the basilica of Constantine.[116] The idea that the sanctuary is related to the Incarnation is promulgated in and outside Cappadocia by placing Mary (or Mariological scenes) or Christ (or Christological scenes) there, or in the prothesis or diakonikon.[117] At Kızıl Çukur, for example, the Presentation of Christ is placed in the prothesis,[118] where elsewhere the Virgin occupies the same location.[119] Outside Cappadocia, in the Martorana church dedicated to Mary, Anna and Joachim stand in the prothesis and the diakonikon respectively,[120] framed by the Archangels and flanking Mary, who is depicted in the main apse. Anna's location in the prothesis associates her with the Nativity of Christ, as Symeon of Thessaloniki tells us, who parallels the prothesis with the cave where Christ was born (*Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρόθεσις τύπον ἐπέχει τοῦ σπηλαίου τε καὶτῆς φάτνης*).[121] Also, in Studenica (Serbia, fourteenth century), the Marian cycle begins and ends in the prothesis, showing that the birth of Mary led later to the birth of Christ and, through him, to the salvation of humanity.[122] Kitzinger notes that the location of Anna and Joachim in the lateral apses is unusual.[123] However, this form is not uncommon in Eastern Europe.[124] Jolivet-Lévy notes that the association of Mary's parents with the Incarnated Logos, as illustrated in Cappadocia, is the earliest example of a tendency that will prevail from the thirteenth century onwards in Greece, and particularly in Crete and the Mani.[125] Indeed, in the Mani the Nativity or the Entry of Mary are placed in the prothesis, which supports Jolivet-Lévy's

argument,[126] and in Crete, the message of the Incarnation will be intensified by the location of Mary's parents in or near the sanctuary.

The third way in Cappadocia to glorify Christ through his forefathers is through portraits of Joachim alone. In chapel 4 in Çavuşin, dedicated to St John (913–920), Joachim holds a cross at the bottom of the northern niche in the proximity of St Stephen while the prophets Ezechiel and Zacharias are shown in the southern niche.[127] Joachim was placed near Zacharias, either because the wives of both became mothers at an advanced age (Luke 1:5–25), or (less likely) because of the high priest Joachim mentioned in the *Book of Nehemiah*, where Zacharias appears as a priest (Neh. 12:12, 12:16). And although St Stephen might be associated with the Iconophile saint Stephen the Younger, it seems that Joachim is linked here with Stephen the Protomartyr, because his holding of the cross and not of a scroll reduces his prophetic quality and emphasizes his role as a martyr of Orthodoxy.

Healing

The final associations of Anna and Joachim in Cappadocian art are with intercession and healing. By being grouped with healer saints, Anna in particular becomes the object of requests for healing, a relationship recorded by Dionysios of Fourna in his 'Painter's Manual' (seventeenth century). Dionysios includes Sts Anna, Kyriake, Marina and Paraskeve among the female healing saints of Orthodox Christianity,[128] based on examples of Byzantine art, as attested already in chapel 33 in Göreme (first half of the eleventh century),[129] where St Anna joins the martyrs Kyriake, Marina, Eudokia and Paraskeve, all invested with healing qualities.[130] In the church of St Niketas the Stylite (tenth/eleventh century), Anna is placed next to the male healing saints Sts Kosmas and Damian and St Panteleimon,[131] a connection first made in architectural terms in the chapel of Hagioi Anargyroi in the sixth-century katholikon of the Sinai Monastery we saw in chapter 1. In the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople St Marina is celebrated on 7 July,[132] St Kyriake on 26 July,[133] St Panteleimon on 27 July[134] and Sts Anargyroi on 1 July;[135] thus a number of healer saints painted next to each other were celebrated in the same calendar month. Similarly to St Damian, St Anna is shown with two or three felines, one fish and one small hart, which Thierry sees as a survival of Anatolian goddesses depicted with animals.[136] Indeed, in ancient Egypt, the goddess Bastet is depicted as a cat or as a cat-headed woman, and women wore amulets of the goddess to secure fertility.[137] Anna's emergence as a healer saint and the purely Christological symbol of the fish underline both her glorification of Christ and her healing ability. Her healing powers are clearly illustrated but it is unknown whether they were specifically related to childbirth, as they were intended to be in other areas, to be discussed later.

Intercession – Deesis

The Virgin Mary is the usual Christian figure who intercedes between the faithful and Christ.[138] In Byzantine churches of the Middle period (843–1204), Mary's location in the apse transfers the supplication from the earth (saints in the nave) to heaven (Christ on the dome). The open palms are an alternative form of supplication

primarily adopted in the Deesis scene, where the insertion of Anna and Joachim shows that in the Byzantine mind they mediate the requests of the faithful to Mary or Christ, from the eleventh century onwards.[139] The symbolism around John the Baptist now changes, as he is not paired with his mother to underline his genealogy but without her, so that his intercessory quality is strengthened.

In Karabaş Kilise (1060/1), Anna and Joachim form part of a Deesis scene located close to the sanctuary,[140] a rendering that illustrates not only the intercessory role of Anna and Joachim but also their contribution to the Incarnation of Christ. In Tagar (chapel of St Theodore, 1080), Anna and Joachim are placed in the sanctuary, to bridge St Anna with Mary and Christ (she lies between the feet of the two) and Joachim with Christ and John the Baptist (he lies below the feet of the two).[141] In Karanlık Kilise (thirteenth century), Christ Emmanuel is depicted in the drum of the central dome, where we find the medallions of John the Baptist, Joachim and Anna.[142] In Matthew (1:23), Isaiah (7:14) is quoted: 'Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and bear a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which means God is with us'. The name Emmanuel embodies the biblical prophesies of Christ's Incarnation, which was long prophesied in the Old and the New Testament, which John the Baptist is associated with to because he foresaw that the Son of God would be physically present on earth.

Finally, two unique examples offer a different view of how Anna's supplicatory quality was illustrated in Cappadocia. The first instance is chapel 3 (early eleventh century) in the region of Hasan Dağı, where Jolivet-Lévy has identified Mary, and possibly Anna, between the donors in a niche in the northern wall.[143] Even when raised hands or epigraphy do not bear witness to it, the proximity of the donor to a saint alludes to the act of supplication on behalf of the donor. The novelty of the Cappadocian mural painting in chapel 3 lies in the fact that, if Anna has been correctly identified, donors appear next to St Anna for the first time in Byzantine art. The second example is chapel 20 in Göreme, which is dedicated to St Barbara and dates to the second half of the eleventh century.[144] Jolivet-Lévy assumes that a figure pictured with other saints in a rare example of polychrome votive panels is St Anna.[145] If these two examples are ever proven to include St Anna in their iconography, then the relationship between the saint and patronage in Cappadocia will need re-evaluation.

The thematic division of the depictions in Cappadocia shows the multi-functional aspect of Byzantine art. The Cappadocian repertoire of Sts Anna and Joachim from the ninth until the thirteenth century provides the best selection of images illustrating the various attributes ascribed to the couple, as they were invested with multiple symbolisms, such as motherhood, healing qualities, intercession and the glorification of Christ. These diversified theological associations are all rooted in Christ's Incarnation, which is particularly emphasized by parenthood. Anna's motherhood in particular is her dominant characteristic, observed in most depictions of her, not only in Cappadocia but also in Greece, Faras and Italy. In the Conception scene at Kızıl Çukur the donor's intervention is shown in the depiction of a moment in the life of a female aristocrat who through emphasis on certain details in the *Protevangelion of James* (head covering, maids) could easily relate to St Anna. Cappadocia is particularly prone to exploring various ways of

giving concrete form to Byzantine perceptions of Mary's parents and remains a true treasure from this aspect.

Constantinople (tenth to fourteenth century)

Iconic images of Mary's parents have survived in the minor and major arts of the Byzantine capital, such as the *Synaxarion of Basil II* and the Chora Monastery. Iconography in Constantinople is not different from what we have seen before now, nor is the involvement of donors in promoting Mary's parents. However, donors are no longer active on the periphery (Faras, Paros, Carpignano) but at the very heart of Byzantine artistic activity. Their patronage reflects Constantinopolitan developments around St Anna and beliefs attached to her at that time at the very centre of the Byzantine world.

The *Synaxarion of Basil II* (Vat.gr. 1613) is the oldest surviving Constantinopolitan liturgical work to include Mary's parents.[146] It was commissioned by the Emperor Basil II (976–1025), dates to around 1000 and contains scenes from the early life of Mary and two standing portraits of Anna and Joachim.[147] The iconic images of Mary's parents are explained by the tenth-century introduction of the feast of St Anna and Joachim on 9 September in Constantinople[148] and the spread of their cult from the ninth century onwards as shown in chapter 2. Thus, the *Synaxarion of Basil II* offers a visual representation of Constantinopolitan liturgical developments at that time.

In the exonarthex of the fourteenth-century Chora Monastery, the standing full-length figure of St Anna (probably next to Joachim) is holding the infant Mary.[149] The location of Mary's parents in the exonarthex, which, similarly to the narthex, had a funerary function, affirms the dogma of the Incarnation through Christ's death in flesh. For the first time in Constantinople, we witness the promotion of Christ's Incarnation by emphasizing primarily his Passion and Death.[150] The Chora Monastery contained the funerary chapel of the patron Theodore Metochites, who included Christ's physical forebears in the decorative program of the exonarthex to enhance the message of his own salvation in the afterlife. In doing so, Metochites perpetuated the iconographical tradition initiated in Carpignano, where Anna acts as intercessor for the protection of souls in the afterlife. The art of Constantinople embodies the liturgical developments crystallized in the tenth century, the visual rendering of which is expressed in the iconic image of the couple in works commissioned by imperial or aristocratic patrons. The relationship between the parents of Mary, and Anna in particular, with a patron is clearly demonstrated in the art of Ethiopia.

Ethiopia (thirteenth century)

One of the oldest extant Ethiopian murals is found in the rock-cut church of Gännätä Maryam (near Lalibäla), which dates to the late thirteenth century. The art of this church dedicated to the Virgin adheres to the trends of Coptic style but its Byzantine character is apparent.[151] St Anna is depicted as the Hodegetria on the southeastern pier, with the baby Mary in front of her chest. The imposing

figures of Anna and her daughter, which dominate one side of the pier, are surrounded by female figures, who form part of the Entry of Mary to the Temple that extends as far as the other side of the pier. The image's narrative character is shown by the inclusion of the Entry of Mary, thus – as Heldman-Eiseman notes – it is not a portrait *per se*.[152] The first example of a portrait inserted into an illustrative cycle is Anna's standing portrait in the Conception scene in Kızıl Çukur. In Gännätä Maryam, Anna's frontality and the inscription surely reduce the Entry's narrative character but in no way do they detach it from the iconic portrait that precedes it. On the contrary, the arrangement of the two images accentuates the votive character of Anna's image and makes both the Entry and the portrait function in a complementary way. The supplicatory character of the panel can be deduced from the inscription: 'Anna, Mother of Mary, may her prayer be upon us'. The painter in Ethiopia reinforced a specific message by including Anna's portrait next to Mary's dedication to the temple by her mother, which Anna had promised to God while praying in her garden, a detail known from the *Protevangelion of James*.[153] The donor, most probably a woman, made her offering to a church dedicated to Mary, as Anna had offered her daughter to the Temple. By including a portrait inside a narrative scene, the donor identifies herself with Anna's story and shows that her act of patronage may have been prompted by her need to place her offspring under the protection of the saint, or by a different child-related matter. Texts and images reflect the social practices adopted by women who longed for a child, or wished to have the Virgin and her mother protect their family. In Gännätä Maryam the donor relates to the offering of Mary by her parents as a promise made to God. Whether a gesture of thankfulness or an appeal for protection, these images constitute a visual response of Byzantine women to Anna's apocryphal story and reveal the extent of its penetration into Byzantine and Ethiopian society.

Mainland Greece (tenth to fifteenth century)

The study of iconographic representations of Mary's parents in mainland Greece was initiated by Sharon Gerstel in her article 'Painted Sources of Female Piety' (1998). Gerstel highlighted the lack of a thorough study of the cult of St Anna in Byzantium and, from the evidence of the saint's iconography in Greece, she identified Anna's association with childbirth. In this section, her observations will be placed in the wider framework of art production before and after the thirteenth century.

The new political landscape after 1204, the division of the empire between the Latins and the maintenance of important strongholds by the Byzantines did not affect the iconography of the saint. We still find Anna depicted as a mother and Joachim as a prophet and father, as well as the genealogical successions that led to the Incarnation of Christ or the protection of souls and family in the afterlife. Even though certain themes were preferred over others in Macedonia or Crete,[154] the cohesion of these themes with the theological perceptions attached to the Virgin's parents remains unbroken.

Central Greece

After Paros, one of the earliest images of Anna in Greece survives in the eleventh-century katholikon of St Luke's Monastery in Phokis. The standing portrait of St Anna wearing a red omophorion is depicted next to that of her mother, under the scene of Christ's Nativity on one of the squinches under the dome.[155] Anna is among the one hundred and seventy-one – according to Chartzedakes – images of saints in the church and her location under Christ's Nativity and next to Mary is understood as an emphasis on figures whose life and deeds led to Christ's birth.[156] The location of an iconic image in the proximity of a narrative scene is substantiated to show the relationship between people and events in the long history of Christianity and stresses the contribution of both for the completion of God's work.

Peloponnese

In the church of St John the Theologian (thirteenth century) in the Argolid,[157] Anna leans her head to the left, holding Mary in her left arm (Hodegetria), and Joachim stands next to them.[158] To highlight their quality as defenders of the Christian faith, both standing figures are accompanied by military saints.[159] As shown earlier, this idea was introduced in the *Life of Stephen the Younger*, where women named Anna were martyred for Orthodoxy, and was further developed in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*. At the same time, the presence of the military saint next to a saint who protects motherhood and childbirth may well be seen as an appeal for protection from both and for reassurance that evil will be combated. Anna repeats her role as a martyr-defender of the Christian faith in the two churches of Hagioi Saranta in Sparta, dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, where she holds a cross in her right hand and opens her palm towards the spectator.[160]

In the church of the Panagia Chrysaphitissa in Chrysapha in Lakonia (1290–1), Anna holds Mary on the northern wall of the nave under the Entry of Mary to the Temple,[161] an ensemble which implies that the donor may have commissioned the image after successfully begetting a child that had previously been dedicated to the Virgin. That it was a family-related issue is shown firstly by the fact that the donors of the church, Michael and Zoe, are depicted in the narthex offering a model of the monument and secondly in the dedicatory inscription that mentions the couple and their children.[162] Analogous intentions apply to Mary's Nativity in the southeastern chapel of the Hagia Sophia in Mistras (after 1366), where, according to Emmanuel, the female donor associated herself with Anna in an effort to have children.[163] In this monument, Joachim and Anna make supplication on the side of the central conch of the eastern wall, where the Virgin and Christ would have been depicted.[164] In contrast to the Chrysaphitissa, where the patronage is affirmed through the inscription, in Mistras it is insinuated solely by the imagery, as is the case with the majority of St Anna's images.

On the western side of the templon of St Nicholas in Geraki (end of the thirteenth century), the enthroned Christ and Mary are accompanied by the frontal and standing John the Baptist and St Anna forming a Deesis.[165] In the seventh-century

life of St Artemios,[166] a woman named Anna used to light a lamp before the icon of John the Baptist,[167] and the connection between the two figures appears as an established one before Geraki in Paros (Ekatontapyliani), Rome (Santa Maria Antiqua) and Cappadocia (Karabaş Kilise, Chapel of St Theodore, Karanlık Kilise, Yılanlı Kilise) either in the form of a Deesis or of the placing of figures close to each other. In hagiography, praying women with this name are often housed in churches, but the miracle from the life of St Artemios suggests that Anna's supplicatory role might have emerged in Byzantine thought much earlier than we think. This might have occurred as early as the seventh century when the *vita* dates, but was established later, according to the surviving iconography especially from Cappadocia and the Peloponnese. In Geraki, the templon was located in front of the apse, the most important location in the church, and functioned as 'the natural first point of call for the visitor'.[168] The fact that St Anna is a given a prominent place in the decorative program of a church demonstrates a high level of devotion to her from the donor, and the dedication of this church to St Nicholas, who was known as a mediator saint, usually in burial churches and chapels,[169] emphasize the supplicatory character of this patronage.

Bakourou assumes that the female saint holding a cross and wearing a white head covering in the thirteenth-century church dedicated to Mary Hodegetria (Aphentiko) in Mistras is St Anna.[170] Hitherto we have been accustomed to seeing Anna with a cross but never without a dark-coloured head covering. In the *Protevangelion*, Anna's royal head covering proclaims her exceptional spiritual and moral status as well as her important genealogy. The head covering is not exclusively Anna's attire, being found not only in the iconographic depiction of other saints, but also in the dress of aristocratic Byzantine women.[171] Thus there is a dual significance to the wearing of a head covering in Byzantium, which allows the audience to contextualize it according to its social or religious associations, which I think is the allusion intended here. In other words, Anna's head covering in the Hodegetria reflects the attire of Byzantine female aristocrats, who associated themselves with the mother of the Virgin, but not necessarily for strictly religious reasons. Rather, female aristocrats could easily relate to St Anna and her mother because they wished to demonstrate their genealogical origins or heritage. Religious Byzantine art often provides us with the chance to penetrate the society that commissioned these images and to see more closely how people perceived St Anna and gave her life through art.

Christ's biological descent from his grandparents is shown in a third church dedicated to John the Baptist in the Peloponnese and a second one in the region of Chrysapha.[172] The church dates to the last quarter of the thirteenth century[173] and depicts Joachim in full length on the northern wall under the Nativity of Christ, blessing with his right hand and holding a scroll with his left.[174] Anna may have been depicted holding Mary or alone, next to her husband,[175] but only the lower half has survived, which prevents us from identifying her with certainty. Nevertheless, it is very unlikely that another female saint would accompany Joachim as he is almost never depicted without Anna.[176] In the church dedicated to Mary in Chrysapha mentioned above, Joachim and Anna were placed in the proximity of

Mary's Entry and beneath Christ's Nativity, not only to validate the two events but also to declare the importance of Mary's apocryphal past for the Incarnation of Christ. The iconography of Chrysapha expresses the appropriateness of selecting Mary's parents to substantiate the birth of Christ, which sanctified them in the eyes of the faithful. This form of canonization reached the point that in homilies Anna and Joachim enjoyed canonical treatment. In particular, Niketas David the Paphlagonian's (ninth/tenth century) comment that 'only someone who has not studied (literally 'visited') the Holy Scriptures does not know Joachim and Anna';[177] the tenth-century homily on the Conception of Anna by Peter of Argos, where Anna is the 'boast of Evangelical teaching';[178] and the reference of the twelfth-century James Kokkinobaphos that his third Presentation homily has been ' . . . chosen from the Holy Scriptures'[179] are indicative of the ground-breaking changes in mentality that the cult of Sts Anna and Joachim brought to the Byzantine world.[180]

Finally, further forms of emphasizing Christ's humanity are found in two fourteenth-century ensembles. The first is the church of Kyriake in Myrtia in fourteenth-century Mistras,[181] where Joachim and Anna are placed close to a Christogram. The second is Sts Theodoroi in Kaphiona (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century), where medallions of Joachim and Anna frame the Holy Mandylion and beneath them the Annunciation of Mary is depicted.[182] The location of Anna and Joachim both next to the Annunciation of Mary and the Holy Mandylion emphasizes Christ's Incarnation, an idea intensified by their adjacency to the apse,[183] and as an ensemble it is found mostly in Crete from the fourteenth century onwards.

To sum up, the Christological associations made with Anna and Joachim in mainland Greece are numerous but not always innovative. To begin with, Anna's white head covering in Mistras contrasts with the usually blue- or red-coloured omophorion that we are accustomed to seeing her wear and this is a thirteenth-century evolution. It was also shown that the head covering, apart from its theological significance, has social implications, permitting an aspect of women's life to enter the depiction. Scrolls, crosses and palms held out towards the spectator allude to supplicant saints or martyrs who testify to the glory of Christ, while their location next to military saints presents Mary's parents as defenders of the Christian faith and protectors of the faithful from evil. Additionally, the presence of Mary's parents in churches dedicated to John the Baptist, one of the main figures of the Deesis scene, and to St Nicholas, protector of the deceased and of orphans, underlines the supplicatory element in the cult of Anna. Anna's intercessional role in the Deesis reveals the impact on Byzantine thought of hagiographical Annas constantly praying in churches or intervening with Mary for the cure of infertility or the protection of family. Maternal images of Anna holding or nursing her daughter and the Holy Mandylion depict iconographical themes imbued with the dogma of the Incarnation. Overall, the apocryphal story of Anna and Joachim as recounted in the *Protevangelion* chronologically preceded the announcement of Christ's coming to the world as told in the gospel, so what preceded Christ's Nativity deserves respect and veneration: 'Her giving birth and remaining a virgin after that and the fact that although she was human she gave birth to God, superseded all miracles. Therefore one should not wonder if most of the Apostles and teachers

of the Church are silent on this [Mary's life before Christ], although it was of great importance'.[184] Portraits of Joachim and Anna in the proximity of the Christological (Annunciation of Mary, Nativity of Christ) or the Mariological cycle (Entry of Mary to the Temple) reflect their role in the long list of holy figures that made salvation possible. The apocryphal life of the Virgin contributed to the realization of the greatest mystery of Christianity and so her parents deserve special veneration in comparison to all other saints of the Orthodox pantheon.

Greek islands (excluding Crete)

Outside Crete, very few churches are dedicated to St Anna, and even fewer to Joachim.[185] However when it comes to the surviving painted material, Mary's parents are distributed over a wide geographical area: the Cyclades (Andros, Naxos),[186] the Ionian Islands (Kithyra), Central Greece (Euboea), the northeastern Aegean (Chios) and Crete.[187] The majority of depictions date from after 1204 (Latin occupation of Constantinople), but the Latin presence did not substantially change existing Byzantine models, such as maternal, supplicatory or directly Christological associations (glorification of Christ) as these continued over the following centuries.

The earliest examples of Anna and Joachim are found on the islands of Chios and Andros. In the eleventh-century katholikon of Nea Moni of Chios, commissioned by the Emperor Constantine Monomachos (1042), Anna and Joachim are placed in medallions in the pendentives of the inner narthex.[188] The pair is included among the prophets, healer saints, warrior saints and martyrs that accompany the image of the Virgin in one of the small domes of the inner narthex and suggests that the church was probably dedicated to her because of the exalted position she occupies.[189] Nea Moni was the product of imperial patronage and reflects Constantinopolitan trends relating to Mary's parents from the moment their earliest portraits appeared in the *Synaxarion* of Basil II, thanks to imperial patronage. In Andros, the twelfth-century church (1158) of the Taxiarches in Mesaria was dedicated to the Archangel Michael and commissioned by Constantine Monasteriotes and Eirene Prasene, both members of the local aristocracy.[190] Anna and Joachim are placed in the pendentives under the Entry of Mary of the Blachernai (Blachernitissa) before a medallion of Christ,[191] intended to glorify Christ's Incarnation as prophesied in the Old Testament. Their addition to the cycle of Mary's Entry (which will be repeated in Ethiopia a century later) is seen here for the first time and refers to the symbolic act of making an offering to God, just as Mary's parents had offered their daughter.

The island of Euboea is rich in imagery of Anna. Between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, nine out of ten churches were constructed in the northcentral part of the island between fifteen to twenty-five kilometres of each other. Ioannou maintains that the proximity of the ecclesiastical monuments in this part of Euboea reflects the social and financial wellbeing of the island and the relative religious freedom it enjoyed.[192] The decoration or dedication of churches in honour of St Anna coincides with the Venetian occupation of the island, which did not alter

the way the saint was depicted compared with art produced in other areas before 1204. It does, nevertheless, favour a particular theme: Anna holding Mary.

In St Nicholas in Pyrgos (thirteenth century), on the lower part of the nave's northern wall, Anna holds Mary on her left side, leaning her head to the left.[193] Just like Orlandos, Emmanuel noted that Anna holding Mary in her left arm is uncommon in Byzantine art,[194] but as she points out, it is found twice more in Euboea:[195] in the cemetery church of the Koimesis in Oxylinthos (late thirteenth–early fourteenth century) and in the church of the Metamorphosis in Pyrgi (thirteenth century).[196] On the southern wall of the narthex in the Koimesis church in Oxylinthos, the standing Anna holds Mary in her left arm, presumably next to St Paraskeve.[197] Their proximity is also liturgical: the Dormition of St Anna was celebrated on 25 July, and the feast of St Paraskeve on the following day. In Pyrgi, the dark wrinkled skin emphasizes the advanced age of St Anna,[198] who is placed beneath the scene of the Lament to underline the message of Christ's Passion and Incarnation, next to the military saints Theodore Stratelates and Theodore Teron;[199] similarly to St Nicholas in Pyrgos, Anna holds Mary in her left arm and looks to the left.[200] The presence of military saints imbues Anna and Joachim with apotropaic associations deriving from their quality as defenders of the Christian faith.[201]

Supplicatory connotations are observed in two churches of Euboea, the Koimesis in Oxylinthos (mentioned above) and St Nicholas in Geraki (dated to 1280).[202] In Oxylinthos, Joachim and Anna are placed in the narthex under the scene of Abraham's hospitality, a representation of the Holy Trinity, Anna in supplication on the right and Joachim on the left.[203] Abraham encapsulates the dogma of the Incarnation when he is depicted with the Mandylion, and that of the Eucharist in the sacrifice of Isaac.[204] Here Christ's Incarnation is framed within the dogma of the Holy Trinity, Christ's spiritual family celebrated at Oxylinthos through his physical family. In St Nicholas in Geraki, Joachim is placed to the right and young Anna to the left of St Nicholas,[205] and both hold triple crosses in their right hands.[206] Depictions of martyrs with crosses are inspired by martyrdom in the name of Christ,[207] and the presence of St Nicholas lends a supplicatory tone to the depiction.[208] Moreover, since St Nicholas protected orphans,[209] it could be a votive image commissioned for the protection of a child or for an upcoming birth. In relation to childbirth, an interesting case in Euboea is worth mentioning. In a fourteenth-century church in Oxylinthos dedicated to St Anna, three female donors are depicted without their husbands on the southern wall of the nave: Varvara, Marina and Maria are associated by name and proximity with the images of Sts Varvara, Marina and Mary the Egyptian. This led Kakavas to argue that the images had been commissioned by women appealing to three saints with the same names as them to help them conceive. Although no image of St Anna was found, this was counterbalanced by the fact that the church itself was dedicated to her,[210] which is indicative of the ways the faithful could illustrate the therapeutic intervention of St Anna in their life. Thus, apart from imagery, church dedication can also be used as an indication of dedicatory tendencies in Byzantium. I think the geographical proximity of the churches to each other explains to a certain degree the triple repetition of Anna's holding Mary in her left arm, regardless of whether it is the

result of personal or collective patronage. Euboea contains the only church known to have been dedicated to St Anna in the Greek islands (except for Crete) and to retain iconography, although not of her. The presence of St Anna in the church is implied by the healing powers bestowed on the three female saints, who will cure the donors with the help of her grace.

In conclusion, the Greek islands contribute significantly to St Anna's imagery; through the repetition of certain themes in Byzantine iconography we gain greater understanding of the associations the Byzantines made with the Virgin's parents: St Anna is joined with healing and military saints, martyrs of the Christian faith, and appears in churches dedicated to protectors of children. Style and iconography seen on other Greek islands (Chios, Andros) revolve around the same themes: Christ's Incarnation, healing qualities, defence of the Christian faith, motherhood and fulfilment of biblical prophecies. That the themes do not change substantially from region to region shows a common interpretation of the Virgin's parents, but the role of regionality in their imagery cannot be overlooked. Thus it can be seen that certain geographical areas favour particular themes or employ iconography different from that in other areas. We saw in Euboea the preference for depicting Anna with Mary in her left arm, the unique imagery of Anna in Sudan, the liturgical framework in her image in Carpignano and her multivalent roles in Cappadocia. Crete, as we will see below, contributes greatly to this tendency by developing themes that have become characteristic of the island.

Crete

In Crete depictions of Mary's parents date from the early thirteenth century.[211] One of the two 'provincial colonies' of the Venetians,[212] Chania and Rethymno, retains one of the earliest portraits of St Anna on the island. In the church of Kalomoiriani at Rodovani in Selino (Chania, 1250–1270), Anna is shown standing, frontal and wearing a red omophorion.[213] In contrast to what we will see in later Cretan art, in this, the earliest surviving portrait of Anna, her motherhood is not deliberately highlighted; certainly it is not representative of the more complicated iconographical choices that will follow. The imagery of Anna and Joachim in Crete belongs to the period between the thirteenth-century estrangement of East and West that lasted for the first 150 years of Venetian rule (as shown by the revolts that were fully supported by the local population),[214] and the easing of tensions in the fourteenth century,[215] although they never entirely disappeared.[216] The imagery first appeared in the early thirteenth century, but multiplied particularly from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Generally this refers to monuments of conservative style,[217] because only painted churches in the countryside have survived,[218] however, Chatzedakes argues that location is not always the reason for adhering to conservative style but reflects a deliberate choice to ignore new iconographical tendencies.[219] This is true of Herakleion, where the Venetians themselves lived, but it is in its suburbs that we find the iconography of Mary's parents, not only as a result of religious disconnection

Figure 3.4 St Anna, Church of Panagia Kalomoiriani, Rodovani
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

between city and countryside but because city dwellers commissioned churches in the Cretan countryside away from the centre of the Venetian presence. Peter Mudacio, for example, 'a resident of Herakleion' (*habitator Candida*), donated ten hyperpyra to the 'ecclesie Sancte Anne de Cheratea' (1325),[220] which today is identified with the village of Stavies, 60 km south of Herakleion.[221] There is a case of patronage recorded within the city: in 1375 five hyperpyra were donated by a lady named Cheranna (possibly Kyra Anna, or Lady Anna) to the church of St Anna located close to the monastery of the Dominican order, which could be identified with the major Dominican monastery of St Peter near the sea walls of Herakleion.[222] There are also cases where we have less information on the precise area in Herakleion where the act of patronage takes place. In a will of 1328, a widow named Anastassu (sic) refers to the church of 'St Anna de Fundico' in Herakleion,[223] and in a fourteenth-century (1334) will from the prefecture of Herakleion, the Candiote feudatory Iulianus Natale paid ten hyperpyra towards the decoration of a church dedicated to St Anna, which, as Lymberopoulou notes, has not yet been located.[224] If one considers that in 1351 a blacksmith earned 150 hyperpyra a year and a doctor 250, it is evident that ten hyperpyra was a very considerable amount to donate for church decoration.[225] In 1339 a church dedicated to St Anna is mentioned in the area of Sunia (Herakleion, modern Marathitēs?) in a contract between Ioannes Princivale and Nicholas Comitas.[226] In 1346, the widow Nichiratia Petaço leaves one hyperpyron to the church of St Anna *apud Cipralum*,[227] which I have not been able to locate. On the one hand, wills confirm that acts of patronage occurred at the very heart of the Venetian presence; on the other hand, today mural decoration only remains in the rural areas. But even in the countryside, where the majority of churches are preserved, wills record areas, churches and buildings unknown to us, in the prefecture of Rethymno in particular.[228] For example, a church of St Anna in Veni (Rethymno) is mentioned in a will of 1339,[229] and in a document of 1254 the area of St Anna is granted as a fief to the Byzantine family of Michael Varouchas; this cannot be traced today but is assumed to have been located in Amari,[230] as names of other members of the Varouchas family appear in the area of Amari. Overall, the prefecture of Rethymno, where a church is found every eight square kilometres,[231] is an excellent case: here texts and iconography reflect the religious trends of the provincial fourteenth-century Crete, since the majority of depictions of Anna and Joachim date to the very beginning of that century. In this book, there will be no city-countryside division, but a thematic one, so that we can examine how several themes evolved over time.

Anna as a mother

In Crete the motherhood of Anna is depicted in two forms: the saint is shown either breastfeeding the Virgin (Galaktotrophousa) or holding (Hodegetria) her. Apart from being family portraits, both types show the genealogical ties between the two figures and their role in Christ's Incarnation.

Anna suckling the Virgin

The church of St Anna at Anisaraki in Chania (1352)[232] is one of the two cases in Greece where the Galaktotrophousa and the Hodegetria Anna have survived in the same monument.[233] The church was decorated by the Pagomenos School and portraits of the donors (three couples and two independent male figures) were included in the iconography. That the donors were members of the local Byzantine aristocracy is shown by the double eagle on one of the female donors' attire[234] and demonstrates the continuation of artistic production by the Byzantine elite in Venetian Crete. Anna is depicted in the templon as a woman of advanced age holding Mary in her left arm (Hodegetria type).[235] A seraph is painted above the two figures and two half-figures of angels surround the upper part of the entrance of the holy bema.[236] Gerstel has placed this representation in a group of devotional images,[237] and the location of Anna in the templon surely exalts the saint to whom the church is dedicated. Joachim is depicted near Anna, on the northern wall, creating a 'family portrait'.[238] He blesses with his right hand, which may be intended to glorify Anna, as Xanthaki notes,[239] or not, as he is shown making this gesture also in Cappadocia. On the northern wall of the nave, Anna as a woman of advanced age suckles the swaddled Mary (Galaktotrophousa) and is accompanied on her right by the Apostle Peter.[240] A third image of Anna holding Mary survives on the exterior wall of the church, above the western entrance. The closest iconographical parallel to a 'family portrait' is found in the fourteenth/fifteenth-century church of St George in Pediada Avdou. On the northern wall, Sts Joachim and Anna hold the baby Mary in a blind arch framed by the Sts Anargyroi. The location of the apocryphal couple in such a prominent location between healer saints explains why this image was executed in the first place.

The rare theme of Anna suckling the Virgin, held in her mother's left arm, is found in the church of the Saviour (1389) in Akoumia (Rethymno).[241] Anna is shown sitting on a throne, a theme very rarely seen in Crete,[242] but also found in the double church of St Vlasios and Mary in Kythira.[243]

In the church dedicated to St George in Kavousi of Hierapetra (1400–1410), Anna wears a red omophorion and breastfeeds the swaddled baby Mary, holding her with both hands. St Anna suckles her daughter while holding her in her left arm in the church of the two-aisled basilica dedicated to All Saints and Christ's Transfiguration in Neapolis, Merambello (Lasithi, beginning of the fourteenth century) that contained a chapel dedicated to All Saints. Here the painted arch above the figure of Anna and the footstool where she stands are rare: neither of these attributes is usual in the imagery of the saint in Byzantium. Among others, the chapel of All Saints marks the extent of the saint's infiltration into the fourteenth-century region of Lasithi, as the exceptional position of Anna in this church shows. For unknown reasons, the saint receives special attention and invites church-goers to pay attention to St Anna's breastfeeding. The church of St Panteleimon in Bizariano (Herakleion, possibly fourteenth century)[244] retains an equally unusual portrait of St Anna as a mother. Anna stands next to St George, suckling Mary while holding her in

Figure 3.5 St Anna holding Mary in the templon, Church of St Anna, Anisaraki
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

Figure 3.6 St Anna and Mary, Church of St Anna, Anisaraki
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

Figure 3.7 St Anna and Mary on external wall, Church of St Anna, Anisaraki
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

Figure 3.8 St Anna, the Virgin, Joachim, Church St George, Herakleion, Pediada, Avdou
(Photo credit: Diogenes Papadopoulos © Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Vasiliki Tsamakda)

Figure 3.9 St Anna (northern wall), Church St George, Lassithi, Ierapetra, Kavousi
(Photo credit: Diogenes Papadopoulos © Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Vasiliki Tsamakda)

Figure 3.10 St Anna and Mary, Church of All Saints, Merambello
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

Figure 3.11 St Anna nursing the Virgin, Church of St Panteleimon, Bizariano
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

her left arm, and leaning her head to the left. The rendering of her face is rather crude, which is best seen in the nose of St Anna which was probably inspired by the donor's own appearance. Moreover, Anna's omophorion is elaborately decorated on its edges, alluding to the donor's financial status. A similar case occurs in Kera Kritsa, where Kalokyres agrees with Xatzidakis's view that the facial characteristics of Anna as the Platytera were inspired by an actual person. We saw in mainland Greece that St Anna's head covering gave her the characteristics of a female aristocrat; in St Panteleeimon this tendency is personalized and adapted to a female aristocrat's social and financial status. The presence of St George next to St Anna emphasizes the apotropaic character of the composition;[245] thus he represents an appeal for the protection of the donor and their family or child (symbolically represented by baby Mary). The examples of Anna breastfeeding are definitely not numerous but represent the tendency in Crete in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to empower visually the aspect of breastfeeding, possibly following a successful appeal to the saint for a child or for the protection of babies.

Anna holding the Virgin

An additional but different form of protection of the donor's family is illustrated in the church of Mary at Fodele in Malevizi (Herakleion, 1323).[246] An inscription on the northern aisle reveals the names of the donors, Michael Melissourgos and his wife Eirene.[247] Anna, with Mary in her right arm, is depicted next to St Menas, on whose mantle there is an imprinted image of Christ.[248] She assumes the type of the Hodegetria 'in mirror image' by pointing towards Mary with the fingers of her left hand.[249] Both saints look similar in age and wear an omophorion of the same colour, but extend different hands towards the spectator in order to glorify each other. Anna holds the baby Mary in her left hand on the northern wall in the church of St John in the village of Axos in Mylopotamos, (Rethymno, around 1400).[250] Here the saint is placed in the bottom row of the north wall in the proximity of the female healer saints, Sts Anastasia and Kyriake.[251] In St George (1401) at Ano Vianos (Herakleion), Anna places Mary in front of her chest (Hodegetria) next to Sts Marina and Anastasia.[252] Anna's pairing with Marina has already been documented in Carpignano and next to both Marina and Anastasia in Cappadocia, due to the healing qualities of both saints. In the church of St John in Kritsa, in Lasithi (1389–1390), Anna holds the Virgin in her right arm and brings her face close to hers (Glykophilousa).[253] The healer saint Panteleeimon is depicted on her right and St Antonios on her left. St Antonios was a popular saint in Venetian Crete as shown in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century wills, where a number of Westerners appear to donate money to his church in Herakleion (*Sancti Antonii burgi Candide*);[254] there was also the church *Santi Antonii Grecorum*,[255] as well as other Orthodox churches.[256] Besides sharing the name of the donor, St Panteleeimon may have functioned as a reliever of a child-related problem when placed next to St Anna, the protector and carer of children and women in labour.

The church of Mary in Kritsa, in Lasithi (1305–1310),[257] retains a portrait of Anna Platytera alone in the apse of the southern chapel looking to the left and

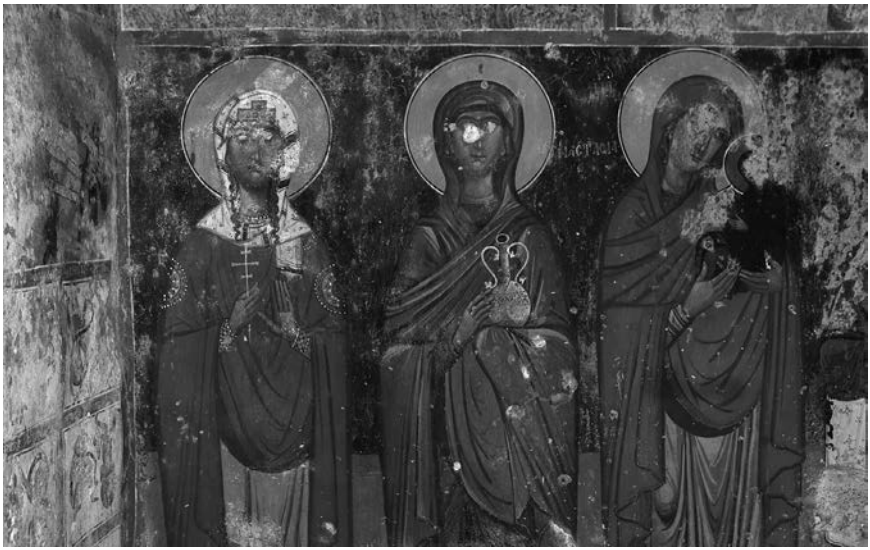

Figure 3.12 St Anna holding Mary, Church of Mary, Fodele
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

raising her hands.[258] According to the dedicatory inscription on the western wall, the southern chapel was built and decorated by the village of Kritsa (*τοῦ χωρίου τῆς Κρητζέας*) and by Antonios Lameras and Eiginos, known as Sinouleto (*Εἰγίνου τοπίκλην Σηνουλέτο*).[259] As Kalopissi-Verti has observed, '[I]n most of the cases of collective patronage of entire villages only the most important or wealthiest residents of the village are mentioned by name and the rest of the peasants follow anonymously'.[260] The fourteenth-century northern chapel (dedicated to St Antony) of the same church was built and decorated a little later than that of St Anna, but the two chapels do not differ stylistically from each other.[261] St Francis of Assisi is depicted in the nave, on the western side of the southwestern pillar, and other Western influences are shown in the armoury of military saints and embossed haloes.[262] Ties with Western culture are shown in the depiction of glass objects in Mariological and Christological scenes, possibly from a painter who was familiar with similar objects in the basilica of St Mark in Venice.[263] St Antony's chapel contains portraits of the donor George Mazizanis and his wife and daughter, who are all mentioned in the dedicatory inscription on the northern wall.[264] The dedication and iconography of the church of Mary in Kritsa confirm that Mary, Anna and Antony are appealing to the Virgin on behalf of the donor's family. The iconographical ensemble of both chapels functions complementarily as they express the desire of the donors for the protection of their own families.[265] This request is enhanced by the fact that the dedicatory inscription faces Anna Platytera directly and thus intensifies the messages of supplication. Finally, an additional family portrait of the holy mothers is found in the nave, where Anna holds the Virgin in her right arm, next to the Apostle Andrew.

Figure 3.13 St Anna with the Virgin and female saints (northern wall), Church St John, Rethymnon, Mylopotamos, Axos
(Photo credit: Diogenes Papadopoulos © Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Vasiliki Tsamakda)

Figure 3.14 St Anna with Mary, St Antonios and St Penteleeimon Church of St John, Lassithi, Merambello, Kritsa

(Photo credit: Diogenes Papadopoulos © Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Vasiliki Tsamakda)

Figure 3.15 St Anna in the apse St Anna's chapel, Church of Mary, Kritsa
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

Figure 3.16 St Anna with Mary, nave, Church of Mary, Kritsa
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

Figure 3.17 St Anna with the Virgin, Church of St Anna, Fourni
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

Figure 3.18 St Anna in the apse with the Virgin, Church of Chromonastiri
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

The Kritsa depiction of Anna holding Mary in her right arm is repeated in the church of St Anna in Kato Fourni in Merabello (1300). Here Anna is depicted in a red omophorion, turning to the left towards her daughter, who wears a brownish omophorion and turns towards her mother. In touching each other's hands, Mary and Anna exalt each other. A more elaborate manner of exalting Anna was conceptualized in this church, with the location of the saint in one of the northern wall's blind arcades and in her depiction as the Kyriotissa, or Enthroned. Anna is rarely depicted as such and I think the specific depiction is related to the unknown donor's devotion to the saint.

Moreover, a unique example in the monumental imagery of St Anna is found in Our Lady of Lambini, from the first half of the fourteenth century. Here, Anna holds Mary in the prothesis, the latter holding a flower in her hand, a detail also seen in an icon painted by Angelos Akotantos that will be discussed shortly.[266] Last but not least, in the southern apse of the church of Virgin Kera in the Chromonastiri Monastery of Rethymno (1400),[267] Anna is depicted with Mary in front of her (the Virgin Nikopoios), above standing portraits of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in military dress.[268] Apart from her depiction as the Nikopoios, Anna is also portrayed as the Platytera, and the Virgin, surrounded by a mandorla, imitates her mother's posture;[269] thus two iconographical types merge in one depiction. And since the maphoria of both saints are similar in colour, the mandorla creates a contrasting background to place Mary against her mother.

To conclude, St Anna at Anisaraki depicts Anna in two Marian types, the Hodegetria and the Galaktotrophousa, not in one image as in Chromonastiri, but twice in the same monument, as she is the saint being honoured. We have information on patrons that commissioned the iconography of the church at both Fodele, Anisaraki and Kritsa, where Anna is shown as the Platytera, and in Akoumia the suckling and enthroned Anna is unique iconographically, as is her location before a footstool in Merabello, or the flower her daughter holds in Our Lady of Lambini. As in Cappadocia, St Anna is placed in the proximity of male and female healer saints, thus revealing her role as an enabler of childbirth, as women sought refuge in her in the hope of resolving fertility issues. The example of Lambini is pretty much like many others, exceptional, as it will appear again from the fifteenth onwards in Italo-Byzantine icon painting and attests to the merging of Eastern and Western art in Crete as early as the fourteenth century.

Christological associations: Anna and Joachim and the Mandylion

Motherhood serves the dogma of the Incarnation and in Crete this message is imparted – among others – through the location of Anna and Joachim's busts near the Holy Mandylion and the Holy Kerameion (Holy Tile).[270] The Mandylion is the

iconographical rendering of Christ's Incarnation and it depicts the face of Jesus, as we read in the vespers of the feast: 'You took the shape of Your icon which You made appear identical to the archetype'.[271] The much-studied motif of the Mandylion became a beloved theme in the iconography of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Crete, appearing in fifty-three depictions during these two centuries.[272] The Kerameion appears in iconography from the twelfth century on and was considered a Constantinopolitan relic brought to the city by Nikephoros Phokas in the tenth century.[273]

Since Mary's parents affirm God's Incarnation, it is not surprising to see them inside or near the altar, the usual site of the Mandylion and the Kerameion. All examples are located in Herakleion and Chania (possibly as a result of geographical proximity) and the first one is the church of St John in Voroi Pyrgiotissis (fourteenth century, Herakleion). There, the busts of Joachim and Anna are placed on the eastern wall of the sanctuary between the Mandylion and the Kerameion.[274] Already in the twelfth-century church of Mary Damiotissa in Naxos, the Mandylion had been placed under the Entry of Mary,[275] initiating its iconographical association with the Incarnation of Christ through the Mariological cycle. Anna and Joachim are found in the sanctuary of the church of the Koimesis in Alikampos Apokoronou (Chania), dated by an inscription to 1315/6,[276] and in the church of Our Lady Kalyviani in Kalyvia (Herakleion, 1300), where they are located on the eastern wall of the sanctuary, on either side of the Mandylion.[277] Lymberopoulou explains the presence of the medallions in the Koimesis church by the dedication of the church to Mary;[278] however, they are also found in churches dedicated to St George, St Demetrios and to the Saviour. In the church of the Saviour in Kissamos (1319–1320) in Chania, Joachim and Anna are placed on the southern wall of the sanctuary under the Mandylion, which is depicted on the triumphal arch framing the imposing figure of the Archangel Michael, a visual appeal for the protection of the souls in the afterlife.[279] In the church of Mary in Monofatsi (Herakleion, 1444), Joachim accompanies Anna, who is holding Mary, and all three are depicted close to the Mandylion. Two medallions surviving out of the six that are beneath them depict John of Damaskos and Joseph the Hymnographer. These identifiable figures led Spatharakis to suggest that six hymnographers must have been depicted there,[280] because Joseph the Hymnographer wrote *kontakia* on Mary's Nativity[281] and Anna's Conception,[282] and John of Damaskos dedicated an (admittedly spurious) homily on Mary's Nativity, on the Probatike and on the life of Mary's parents.[283] Although scholars dispute the suggestion that John of Damaskos wrote any homily on Mary's Nativity, the fifteenth-century donor of the church's iconographical program clearly believed that he had. Taking into consideration the fact that both John of Damaskos and Joseph the Hymnographer dedicated works on the life of Mary and St Anna, it is very probable that the other poets originally included had also done so.

Figure 3.19 St Anna and Archangel Michael, Church of the Saviour (Transfiguration), Chania, Kisamos, Kefali

(Photo credit: Diogenes Papadopoulos © Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Vasiliki Tsamakda)

Christological associations: Anna and Joachim, the Mandylion and the Annunciation

In the *Protevangelion of James*, we read that, having been presented to the Temple by her parents at the age of three, Mary lived there until the age of twelve, where during this time she spun (*Μαριάμ δὲ λαβοῦσα τὸ κόκκινον ἔκλωθεν*).[284] The Virgin's work on the veil of the temple is an activity coincident with the Incarnation, because firstly it produces the thread for the veil of the Temple in Jerusalem and secondly the labour of Mary's hand symbolizes the activity of the womb.[285] Visual evidence from the twelfth century onwards shows that in several regions of the Byzantine Empire the Mandylion was placed in the sanctuary together with the Annunciation, because it was this event that declared the Incarnation of the Logos.[286] The contribution of Crete to the scene was the introduction of Joachim and Anna.

From the last decade of the thirteenth until the middle of the fifteenth century, six Cretan churches accommodated an iconographical ensemble consisting of Mary's parents, the Holy Mandylion/the Holy Kerameion and the Annunciation.[287] The first is the church of St George in Sklavopoula in Selino, Chania (1290–1291), where the Mandylion is depicted in the sanctuary; beneath it are Sts Joachim and St Anna in medallions, and beneath them the Annunciation.[288] The same theme occurs in the church of St Demetrios (1292–1293) in Leivadas, again in Selino, but here the positions of Anna and Joachim are reversed, with Joachim placed on the viewer's left.[289] This could be the result of Western influence, as Maderakis has suggested,[290] but it might be intended to exalt the figure of Joachim. In St Demetrios, Anna assumes the role of female martyr, with a cross in her right hand and her left palm towards the spectator. On the triumphal arch of the eastern wall of the early fourteenth-century church of Christ's Transfiguration in Zouridi (Rethymno),[291] the Mandylion and the Kerameion are surrounded by the Annunciation of Mary, where Anna is placed above Mary and Joachim above Gabriel.[292] Anna and Joachim 'frame' the event that initiated the salvific plan of God through the Incarnation of Christ.

To sum up, Crete explores the multifaceted ways in which Christological and Mariological references, drawn from Mary's early and apocryphal life, can be depicted. The theological 'gravity' of Mary's childhood is discussed elsewhere,[293] but suffice it to say here that in Crete, as everywhere in Byzantine art, the portraits of Anna with Mary reflect the vital importance of Anna's story to the Incarnation, the central motive for the veneration of St Anna in Byzantium. This connection implies other associations, such as intercession in favour of childbirth and therefore the protection of families and minors. It is important to distinguish between Anna's roles in texts (hagiographies, histories) and in imagery, as nowhere is Anna explicitly referred to in texts as the protector of families or children, though it seems almost taken for granted in art. This is shown in the dedication of chapels or churches to her, where the whole family calls for protection. It seems that the frequent appeal to Anna to cure infertility and permit the birth of children was extended to her being considered protector of families. Anna is portrayed as mediator with the Virgin in Kyra Kritsa, where, following the iconography of Mary, she

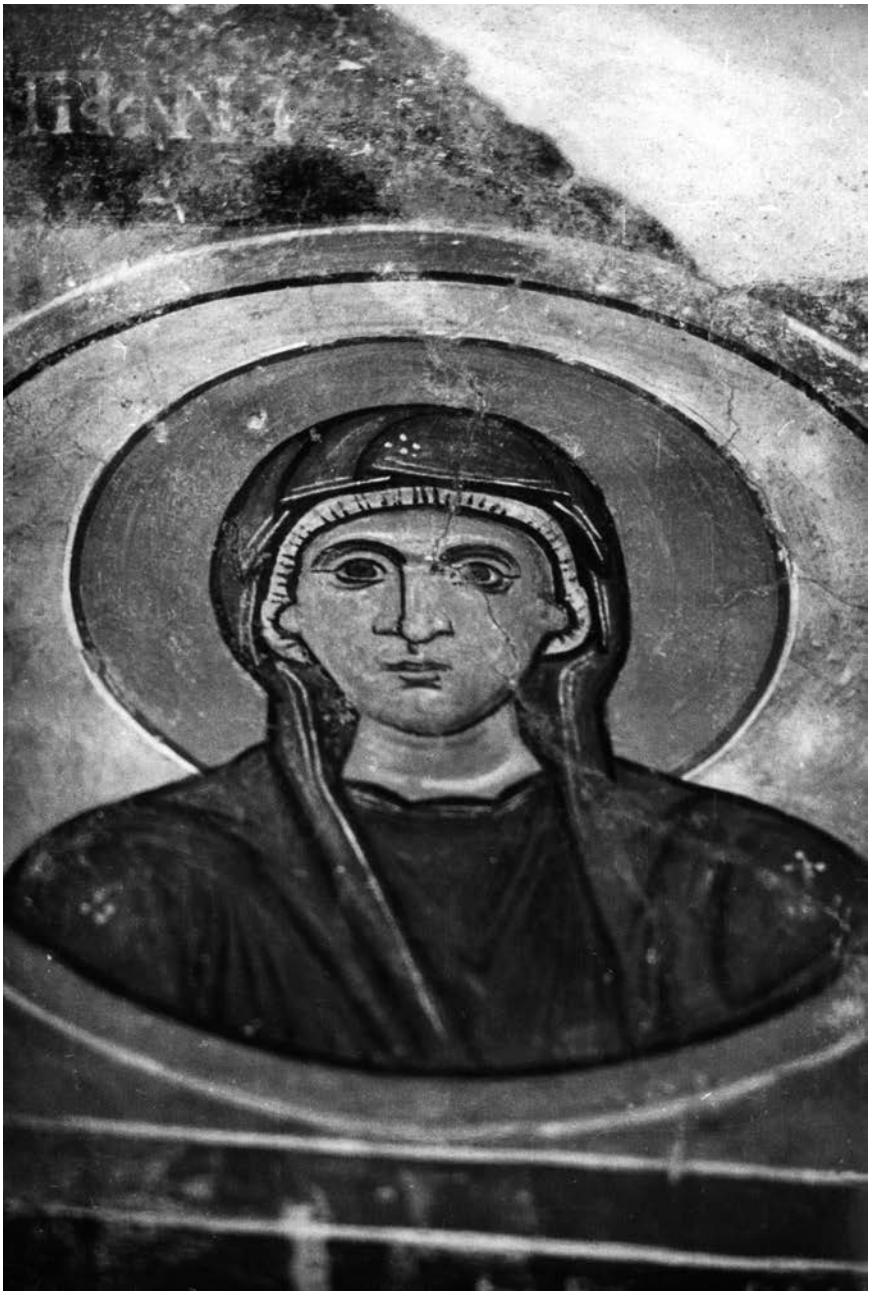

Figure 3.20 St Anna in medallion, Church of St George, Sklavopoula
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

Figure 3.21 St Anna in medallion, Church of St Demetrios, Leivadas
(Photo credit: Stavros Maderakis Archive, University of Mainz)

is depicted in the established supplicatory type of the Virgin, the Platytera. The conformity of St Anna's representation to the iconographical *topoi* of her mother is shown, apart from the Platyrera, in her depiction as the Nikopoios, the Hodegetria or the Kyriotissa, which, in my view, is not meant to equate the two women but to elevate the status of St Anna in the eyes of the faithful. Above all, Cretan painting emphasizes Anna and Joachim's contribution to the salvific plan for humanity. Nowhere else in Byzantine art (or in areas artistically influenced by Byzantium) are the Mandylion, the Kerameion and Mary's parents depicted so often as an iconographical entity in one location; this is indicative of the painting's emphasis on the Incarnation of the Logos. Christ's humanity is demonstrated not only in relation to the Mandylion, the Kerameion and the Annunciation but also – as already mentioned – in the portraits of Anna holding Mary, thanks to the emphasis this image lays on Anna's motherhood. Several iconographical details are also characteristic of Cretan painting: the throne (in two cases), the repeated depictions of Anna breastfeeding Mary and the unfading rose in Lambini stand out in the iconography of Anna's motherhood on the island. Finally, the associations we saw in Cappadocia are missing from Crete: there is no immediate glorification of Christ, but special veneration is paid to hymnographers and homilists who wrote festal works on St Anna and the early life of Mary, and thus to composers who celebrated Christ's Incarnation. On the one hand, Crete possesses a rich deposit of themes assembled in one area that are not found elsewhere; on the other hand, it lacks themes that are common in other areas. As in Euboea, the financial prosperity of Byzantine patrons of art in Crete resulted in the spread of Byzantine style and iconography. As for the Venetians, the economic prosperity and easing of tensions that the island enjoyed during the fourteenth century[294] seem to have discreetly but steadily exposed the repertoire of representations of St Anna to the influence of Western iconography.

Icons – book covers

Icons and book covers preserve the iconographical types of monumental art. Nevertheless, it is necessary to study them separately from the previous corpus of images because of the higher degree of personal interaction that the donor could establish in these media, since in a few cases the donor 'actually altered the nature of the whole image, by demanding a visual response from very holy figures'.[295]

Fulfilment of prophecies

In giving birth to Mary, Anna and Joachim fulfilled Old Testament prophecies on the coming of Christ to the world. Monumental painting disseminates this concept, as do the minor arts.

On a late tenth- or early eleventh-century book cover of Constantinopolitan origin Mary stands in the centre in a praying position. Anna and Elisabeth are placed at the level of Mary's feet, and Joachim, who is depicted among other male saints holding a red scroll, is placed at the lower level for symmetry. Anna holds a cross with her left arm and just like Elisabeth she opens her right palm outwards for

symmetry since the other figures around her (except for the Archangels) have their right hands stretched outwards. The Virgin stands out as the second most important figure in the icon after Christ, and, besides her, Anna and Elisabeth are the only female saints among the four evangelists, Church Fathers, apostles and prophets who are included on the cover.[296] The imagery alludes to those who prophesied or were part of the salvific work of God through the Incarnation of Christ.

Anna and Joachim's contribution to the Incarnation is underlined in a Kykkotissa type of icon from Sinai dated to the second half of the twelfth century. Mary enthroned in the centre holds Christ; Anna and Joachim are among the twenty pairs of saints placed along the bottom, under Mary's feet, to the right of Joseph, on the left side of whom Adam and Eve are included.[297] This is the earliest depiction of 'Ἄνωθεν οἱ Προφῆται' (the Prophets from above), where Mary is surrounded by prophets who are holding scrolls with passages referring to the Incarnation of the Logos.[298] The inscription beneath Mary's feet quotes Romanos's *kontakion* on the Nativity of Mary: 'Joachim and Anna conceived and Adam and Eve were liberated'.[299]

Old Testament figures and 'biblical, poetic and liturgical inscriptions' form part of a Constantinopolitan or Sinaitic icon dated between 1080 and 1130.[300] Similarly to the abovementioned icon, it quotes a verse from Romanos the Melodist's *kontakion* on the Nativity of Mary. Under this inscription, five figures are represented: Mary's husband Joseph stands in the middle, holding a scroll which exalts Mary's purity; he is flanked by Anna and Joachim, who are in turn surrounded by Adam and Eve. The image 'links Old Testament vision to New Testament revelation and the Incarnation to the Second Coming',[301] and promotes the destruction of sin and the rebirth of humanity through Christ's birth.

The right plate of a Sinaitic diptych (last quarter of the thirteenth century) depicts another Virgin Kykkotissa with Anna and Joachim placed on top of the icon on either side of the 'Burning Bush', a reference to Mary. Added to the iconography of this icon are the images of St Constantine the Great and his mother St Helena on the bottom.[302] Their location next to the parents of Mary is not unusual in monumental art, neither is its meaning. In this Kykkotisa icon, Anna and Joachim emphasize, according to Chatzedakes, Mary's perpetual virginity,[303] and the iconography aims not only to connect Mary and her parents with the fulfilment of prophecies, but also to emphasize the veneration of the Cross[304] through biblical prefigurings of Mary interwoven with the establishment of Christianity and the discovery of the True Cross that presents them as defenders of the Christian faith.[305] The icon under discussion demonstrates clearly the level to which imagery containing the parents of the Virgin can be multilayered and interwoven with a variety of associations because of its theological centrality. Finally, an unpublished thirteenth-century icon from Sinai, of Joachim venerating Mary, declares her Old Testament prefiguration as the 'Burning Bush'. It belongs to a group of icons showing Mary as the Burning Bush, accompanied by a saint or a prophet who pays respect, but it is the only icon known to the author where Joachim is depicted without Anna and alone with Mary.[306] Its exceptionality suggests that the donor may have wished for personal reasons to promote Joachim alone. More generally, exceptionality reflects how the minor arts were perceived as a more personal arena

for commissioning a work of art than monumental art, where of necessity a large number of saints appear next to the donors' preferred saint. In the case of icons, these additions are made out of preference.

Military saints

In both monumental and minor arts, Theodore Stratelates is one of the military saints commonly depicted near to Anna and Joachim in order to proclaim the role of the pair as defenders of Orthodoxy, and more broadly as protectors from evil. This concept is not unknown to monumental art, where they are paired with the Archangels Michael and Gabriel in military dress, as shown earlier. In a fourteenth-century icon (1382–1384) given as a gift by Anna Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, daughter of Uros Palaiologos, ruler of Thessaly, to her brother Ioasaph, second founder and abbot of the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora,[307] Mary and Christ are in the centre, surrounded by saints. Above Mary, Theodore Stratelates is depicted next to St Anna, wearing a red omophorion, as she usually does in minor arts. The images of saints have small slots in them, where the relics of each saint would have been kept.[308] Besides the iconography, the message of the Incarnation is intensified by the relics of Anna and Joachim. The abovementioned icon was used as a model for the Cuenca diptych (1382–1384), which was sent by the husband of Maria Palaiologina to Italy.[309] In this second icon, Theodore Stratelates is once again depicted next to St Anna, wearing a red omophorion and accompanied by the inscription: 'Saint Anna, Mother of the Theotokos'.[310]

Donors

The previous icon is one of the three examples of icons commissioned or offered as a gift, which were also associated with a monastery, either the Meteora, Sinai or Athos.

In monumental art, St Anna is not often placed in the immediate vicinity of donors, but the case is different with a late fourteenth-century icon from Sinai, showing Mary holding Christ between her parents.[311] The fact that the donor is kneeling before Mary and is included in a family portrait of her seems to refer to the Virgin's intercessory role (through the resolution of her mother's infertility) in issues related to childbirth. Nevertheless, another suggestion has been made by Papamastorakis, according to whom the fact that Mary, Anna and Joachim are pointing towards the donor with their hands, first noted by Ševčenko,[312] is due to the location of the icon over the donor's tomb.[313] We are thus concerned here with intercession by Christ's family on behalf of the donor's family, a strong message expressed by the fact that the Virgin and her parents not only constitute a form of Deesis but are also all pointing towards the donor, who selected this manner to show that he 'demand[ed] a visual response from the very holy figures he has commissioned'.[314] Both in Studenica and here, the unusual proximity to the Virgin's family reveals a deeper level of connection with it, suggesting that this is a personal request of great importance to the donor: for offspring in the first case, and for protection in the afterlife in the second.

Finally, Demus has noted that portable mosaic icons are among the rarest and most precious objects in Byzantine art;[315] we are therefore fortunate that one of St Anna has survived. A luxurious late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century portable mosaic icon of St Anna, now in the possession of the Monastery of Vatopedi, was given as an imperial gift to the sixteenth-century 'Queen and great princess Anastasia', as the inscription reads at the back.[316] The saint holds Mary in her left arm, is surrounded by the Archangels, three Apostles, Joachim and Joseph, and the 'Hetoimasia (Preparation) of the Throne' at the top, and is accompanied by the inscription 'Saint Anna Mother of God'.[317] The association of Mary's parents with the Hetoimasia is explained by their preparation of Mary for the salvation of humanity and because Joachim's name in Hebrew means 'Preparation of God'.[318]

Icons from Crete

In the East and the West, the representation of St Anna emphasized the Incarnation of the Logos and the manner of depicting it in the two cultures was neither identical nor diametrically different. During the fifteenth century, painters switched to icon production,[319] and thanks to the mixing of Byzantine and Western iconography, icons of St Anna were enriched with Western elements at the hands of Constantinopolitan painters who went to Crete, and drawing on their Palaiologan background they 'renewed' Byzantine art.[320] This was the case with Angelos Akotantos,[321] the fifteenth-century Cretan painter, who had a profound knowledge of Palaiologan art and had visited the Monastery of Chora in Constantinople.[322] He produced two icons of interest to us: 'Anna holding Mary' and 'Anna with Mary and Christ'.[323]

As far as the first theme is concerned, the Benaki Museum in Athens has an icon of St Anna as the Hodegetria, where Mary offers Anna the 'unfading rose', a symbol of Mary's purity.[324] The unfading rose has not been associated with Mary and Anna in Byzantine iconography, but only in the church of Our Lady in Lambini and shows Angelos's infusion of Western elements into Cretan iconography. In general, however, he deviates from Byzantine art stylistically rather than iconographically. The second theme is a family portrait of Anna, Mary and Christ. Here the iconography is greatly influenced by that of the West, because the genealogy of Christ based on his mother's and grandmother's side is an iconographical motif developed in the West from the thirteenth century onwards, which found its expression in the 'Anneselbsdritt' images.[325] This iconographic theme, which dictates that Anna is depicted on the top, with Mary and Christ above her, was developed in the post-Byzantine period,[326] and the only surviving example from the Byzantine period is this icon of Angelos. Bynum-Walker notes that the Anneselbsdritt imagery signifies the importance of women in late medieval conceptions of family and emphasizes Mary's Immaculate Conception.[327] Moreover, through the succession of generations, the Anneselbsdritt imagery emphasizes the Incarnation of Christ and it is also known as 'Sant' Anna Metterza'.[328] The triadic form of the Holy Family could be a Western alternative to Anna's intercessory role in Byzantine art, but overall it stresses Anna's motherhood and her genealogical relationship with Christ.

A final example of the merging of Byzantine tradition with Western art is a fifteenth-century icon of Italo-Byzantine origin, either from Crete or from Venice, painted by an unknown artist. The icon portrays four saints, two males on the upper register and two females on the lower. St Eleutherios is placed on the left, next to St Francis of Assisi; below St Eleutherios we find St Anna and next to her St Catherine.[329] Apart from the Western St Francis, the Eastern saints are depicted in typical Byzantine style.[330] Similarly to the other two eastern figures, St Anna is depicted frontally with both palms turned outwards; she is portrayed as a woman of advanced age, wearing a red omophorion. St Catherine, venerated also by the Latins,[331] holds a cross and has her left palm open as well. On the one hand, St Eleutherios is venerated on the Adriatic coast,[332] and this, together with the inclusion of St Francis, shows that, although the style is '*alla maniera Greca*' (= in Byzantine style), the icon was intended for a western donor. This is supported by Lymberopoulou's view that while the three Eastern saints are depicted frontally, St Francis is depicted in three quarters to show the 'patron's special connection with the saint'.[333] Lymberopoulou correctly recognizes the donor's personal attachment as expressed in the iconography, to which one should add that St Eleutherios in particular was chosen because he is also considered protector of childbirth, as we read on his feast day (15 December): 'You are concerned about women in labour and you give them freedom'.[334] Thus, St Anna and St Eleutherios allude to a commission made to obtain the health of children or a successful labour. On the other hand, above all other Catholic saints, St Francis was the one most venerated among the Orthodox population of Crete,[335] so the icon might well have been intended for an Orthodox donor. The icon points to the fact that by the fifteenth century the cult of St Anna had spread widely among both Orthodox and Catholics, starting with the numerous depictions of the saint in Venetian-held Crete.[336] The artistic mingling had reached a point where at times it is difficult to distinguish a Western donor from a Byzantine donor on the evidence of iconography alone.

To sum up, the iconography of Sts Anna and Joachim transmits the same message as monumental painting, but the way of achieving this differs to a certain degree. They are proclaimed as the people who fulfilled the biblical prophecies of the Coming of Christ (Prophets from Above, the Burning Bush), who enabled the Incarnation, who protected life and Orthodoxy in the presence of military saints or Constantine and Helen, or the afterlife in the presence of donors. The visual aspect of their cult is supported by verses from Romanos's *kontakion*, which remind the believer of their role in the victory over the sin which Eve and Adam brought to the world. Apart from iconography, one should emphasize that most of the icons mentioned above were valuable objects, often given as gifts by members of the imperial family or the aristocracy. I believe that the attachment of these social strata to the iconography of Mary's parents is due to the continuing cultivation of an ideology that recalled their descent from King David, which was appended to the political ideology in Byzantium and Eastern Europe as it upheld the exceptional origins of each divinely elected emperor.[337]

Notes

1 Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien 3, Iconographie de saints.1* (Paris, 1958), pp. 90–91, 93–96; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien 2, Iconographie de Bible. 2 Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1957), pp. 79, 155–161, 162–166; Elena Croce, 'Anna, madre di Maria Vergine', in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome, 1961), vol. 1, pp. 1270–1295; Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige Anna: ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum* (Düsseldorf, 1930). Cartlidge and Elliott [David Cartlidge and Keith Elliott, *Art and the Christian apocrypha* (London, 2001), pp. 21–46] summarized Lafontaine-Dosogne's conclusions on Mary's imagery in the East and briefly discussed the depictions of Mary's life in both the East and the West.

2 Richard Lukas Freytag, *Die autonome Theotokosdarstellung der frühen Jahrhunderte* (München, 1985), p. 155. Freytag included the eighth-century portrait of Anna holding Mary in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome (discussed later) only because, to my view, Christ is included in it; see Freytag, *Die autonome*, p. 178.

3 Kalokyres [Konstantinos Kalokyres, *Η Θεοτόκος εις την εικονογραφίαν Ανατολής και Δύσεως* (Thessalonike, 1972)] also studied the Mariological cycle in Byzantine art, but Lafontaine-Dosogne's work still remains a point of reference.

4 The visual evidence in this book will be presented chronologically (earliest to latest), then thematically (various iconographical themes) and then by media (frescoes, manuscripts, icons).

5 Wlodzimierz Godlewski, 'Some Remarks on the Faras Cathedral and Its Painting', *JCoptS*, 2 (1992): pp. 104, 113; Giovanni Vantini, *The Excavations at Faras: A Contribution to the History of Christian Nubia* (Bologna, 1970), p. 199.

6 Kazimierz Michałowski and Stefan Jakobielski, *Faras: Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw* (Warsaw, 1974), p. 78; Godlewski, 'Some Remarks', p. 100.

7 Stephan Jakobielski, 'Remarques sur la chronologie des peintures murales de Faras aux VIIIe et IXe siècles', in Stephan Jakobielski (ed.), *Nubia Christiana I* (Warsaw, 1982), p. 147. Michałowski [Kazimierz Michałowski, 'Open Problems of Nubian Art and Culture in the Light If the Discoveries at Faras', in Erich Dinkler (ed.), *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit. Ergebnisse und Probleme auf Grund der jüngsten Ausgrabungen* (Recklinghausen, 1970), p. 15] initially dated the violet style (to which the first depiction of Anna under discussion belongs) to the beginning of the eighth or the middle of the ninth century. However, in a later publication, Michałowski inclined to the beginning of the eighth century; see Michałowski and Jakobielski, *Faras*, p. 78l. Jadwiga Kubińska, [*Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes. Faras, IV* (Warsaw, 1974), p. 122, no 62] supports the eighth-century dating. Seipel inclined to the ninth century; see Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Faras: die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 23. Mai bis 15. September 2002* (Milan and Vienna, 2002), p. 67.

8 For a more detailed treatment of the Byzantine presence in Nubia, see Eirini Panou, 'The Signum Harpocraticum in the Eighth-Century Christian Art of Nubia', in Svetlana V. Maltseva and Ekaterina Yu Stanyukovich-Denisova and Anna V. Zakharova (eds.), *Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art V: Collection of Articles* (Profession, 2015), pp. 244–260. Despite the different route followed, the findings of my article do not contrast what Dobrzeniecki claimed in Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, 'St Anna from Faras in the National Museum in Warsaw', *BMNV*, 28 (1987): pp. 49–75.

9 Émile De Strycker (ed.), *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques / recherches sur le papyrus Bodmer 5 avec une édition critique du texte grec et une traduction annotée* (Brussels, 1961), p. 68.

10 André Grabar, 'Une fresque visigothique et l'iconographie du silence', *CahArch*, 1 (1945): pp. 124–128.

11 Kubińska, *Inscriptions*, p. 121, no 61, fig. 55; Seipel (ed.), *Faras*, p. 66; Michałowski and Stefan Jakobielski, *Faras*, p. 57; Caspar Detlef and Gustav Müller, 'Grundzüge der

Frömmigkeit in der Nubischen Kirche', in *Études nubiennes: colloque de Chantilly, 2–6 juillet 1975* (Cairo, 1978), p. 214, n. 1.

12 A tenth-century fragmentary depiction of Anna is found in the church of Abdallah-n Irqi or Abdallah Nirqi (Lower Nubia). St Anna is identified by a Greek inscription 'The holy Anna, Mother' and is portrayed as *Orans* (in supplication). I thank Dobrochna Zielińska (Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw), who brought this depiction to my attention. For this depiction, see Paul N. Van Moorsel, *The Central Church of Abdallah Nirqi* (Leiden, 1975), p. 93.

13 On the western wall of the sanctuary of Santa Maria Antiqua (Rome), a female saint holds a female baby in front of her accompanied by an inscription in Greek 'Saint . . . ' but the name has not survived. The identification of the saint with Anna has been based on the fact that a female of advanced age holds a female child in front of her and on her exalted placement near the sanctuary. But the lack of epigraphical evidence fails to identify them, which is the reason why this depiction has been excluded from this book. For the image and its dating, see Wilpert, *Die römischen*, pp. 653–726; Per Jonas Nordhagen, 'Icons Designed for the Display of Sumptuous Votive Gifts', *DOP*, 41 (1987): p. 454; Per Jonas Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome*, *ActaIRNorv* (Rome, 1968), vol. 3, p. 89; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 36, n. 4; Ernst Kitzinger, 'Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm', in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress München 1958* (München, 1958), p. 40. Brenk has argued [Beat Brenk, 'Papal Patronage in a Greek Church in Rome', in John Osborne and Brandt J. Rasmus and Giuseppe Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro romano: cento anni dopo: atti del colloquio internazionale, Roma, 5–6 maggio 2000* (Rome, 2004), p. 76], that the dating of this image is 'a matter of faith'.

14 Stephen Lucey, 'Palimpsest Reconsidered: Continuity and Change in the Decorative Programs at Santa Maria Antiqua', in John Osborne and J. Rasmus Brandt and Giuseppe Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro romano: cento anni dopo: atti del colloquio internazionale, Roma, 5–6 maggio 2000* (Rome, 2004), p. 87.

15 Wilpert, *Die römischen*, p. 711, n. 3.

16 Ibid.; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, pp. 36–37, n. 5; *LChrI*, p. 172; Bäumer and Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 157.

17 Wilpert (Wilpert, *Die römischen*, p. 711) refers only to the Meeting of Anna and Joachim.

18 Avery, 'The Alexandrian', p. 143.

19 Other churches in Italy where the Marian cycle has survived is St Sabas in Rome [an eighth-century Entry of Mary or the Rejection of Gifts; see Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 37; Kalokyres, *Η Θεοτόκος*, p. 102; Paul Styger, 'Die Malereien in der Basilika des hl. Sabas auf dem kl. Aventin in Rom', *RQ*, 28 (1914): pp. 60–64], and Castelseprio [an early ninth-century Rejection of Gifts and the Entry of Mary; see Paula D. Leveto, 'The Marian Theme of the Frescoes in S. Maria at Castelseprio', *ABull*, 72 (1990): pp. 402–403, n. 30].

20 Avery, 'The Alexandrian', p. 145, n. 79.

21 Leveto, 'The Marian Theme', p. 411.

22 'in basilicam beatae Mariae ad praesepe . . . sed alliam vestem in orbiculis chrysoclabis habentem historias annunciationis, et sanctorum Joachim et Annae', see Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum*, col. 933E. For a translation of this part, see Davis (trans.), *The Book of Pontiffs*, p. 193.

23 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Histoire*, pp. 91–93.

24 Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1988), p. 265.

25 Maria Andaloro, 'Le icone a Roma in età preiconoclasta', in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente. Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, XLIX Spoleto 19–24 Aprile 2001* (Spoleto, 2002), p. 750.

26 Thomas Weigel, *Le colonne del ciborio dell'altare maggiore di San Marco a Venezia: nuovi argomenti a favore di una datazione in epoca protobizantina* (Venice, 2000),

p. 20; Beat Brenk, *Spätantike und Frühes Christentum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1977), p. 62; Joan Barclay Lloyd, 'Sixth-Century Art and Architecture in "Old Rome": End or Beginning?', in Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (eds.), *The Sixth Century – End or Beginning? Australian Association for Byzantine Studies (Conference) (9th: 1995: Brisbane, Australia)* (Brisbane, 1996), pp. 231–232.

27 Raffaella Farioli Campanati, 'La cultura artistica nelle regioni bizantine d'Italia dal VI all'XI secolo', in Guglielmo Cavallo [et al.] (eds.), *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan, 1982), pp. 182, 208; Eugenio Russo, 'La presenza degli artefici greco-costantinopolitani a Roma nel VI secolo', *JOAI*, 75 (2006): p. 283.

28 Jean-Marie Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VIe s.-fin du IXe s.) 1, Texte* (Bruxelles, 1983), p. 164.

29 Cameron, 'The Theotokos', p. 91.

30 Giovanni Morello (ed.), *Splendori di Bisanzio: testimonianze e riflessi d'arte e cultura bizantina nelle chiese d'Italia* (Milan, 1990), pp. 42–43.

31 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Histoire*, pp. 89–92; Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises Byzantines: fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969), p. 84.

32 Russo, 'La presenza', p. 280; Campanati, 'La cultura', pp. 181–182; Laura Pasquini Vecchi, 'Elementi orientali-costantinopolitani nelle decorazioni a stucco di S. Vitale', in *Ravenna, Costantinopoli, Vicino Oriente, XLI Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* (Ravenna, 1995), pp. 187–206.

33 Cameron, 'The Theotokos', p. 90.

34 Russo, 'La presenza', p. 280.

35 Letizia Pani Ermini, 'Spazio cristiano e culto dei santi orientali a Roma', in Sebastiano Gentile (ed.), *Oriente cristiano e santità: figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan and Rome, 1998), pp. 88–89; Barclay Lloyd, 'Sixth-Century Art', p. 230; Lesley Jessop, 'Pictorial Cycles of Non-Biblical Saints: The Seventh- and Eighth- Century Mural Cycles in Rome and Contexts for Their Use', *PBSR*, 47 (1999): pp. 233–279.

36 Caroline J. Goodson, 'Building for Bodies: The Architecture of Saint Veneration in Early Medieval Rome', in Éamonn Ó Carragain and Carol Neuman de Vegvar (eds.), *Felix Roma: The Production, Experience and Reflection of Medieval Rome* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 56.

37 Leslie Brubaker, '100 Years of Solitude: Santa Maria Antiqua and the History of Byzantine Art History', in John Osborne and Brandt J. Rasmus and Giuseppe Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro romano: cento anni dopo: atti del colloquio internazionale, Roma, 5–6 maggio 2000* (Rome, 2004), p. 44.

38 Brenk, 'Papal patronage', pp. 45, 74.

39 Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), p. 90.

40 Niels Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Hojbjerg, 1986), p. 38.

41 Dresken-Weiland, 'Die Kirche', p. 59.

42 Fane A. Drossogianne, 'Παλαιοχριστιανικές τοιχογραφίες στην Εκατονταπυλιανή της Πάρου', in *Η Εκατονταπυλιανή και η χριστιανική Πάρος, Πρακτικά επιστημονικού συνεδρίου (15–19 Σεπτεμβρίου 1996)* (Paros, 1998), p. 58, fig. 4.

43 Ibid., pp. 64–65.

44 Ibid., p. 65.

45 Ibid., p. 65.

46 For the Byzantine influence on Southern Italy and Carpignano, see Campanati, 'La cultura', pp. 219–252, 268–269.

47 Linda Safran, 'Deconstructing "Donors" in Medieval Southern Italy', in Lioba Theis and Margaret Mullett and Michael Grünbart and Galina Fingarova and Matthew Savage (eds.), *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond, an International Colloquium: September 23–25, 2008, Institut Für Kunstgeschichte, University of Vienna, Wiener Jahrbuch fur Kunstgeschichte LX / LXI 2011–2* (Köln and Vienna, 2013), p. 138, figs 1–2.

48 Warren Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford and New York, 2012), p. 37.
49 Dimitra Kotoula, 'The British Museum Triumph of Orthodoxy Icon', in Andrew Louth and Augustine Casiday (eds.), *Byzantine Orthodoxies: Proceedings of the 36th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23–25 March 2002* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 124.
50 See also Ioannes Varalis, 'Παρατηρήσεις για τη θέση του Ευαγγελισμού στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο', *D.C.A.E.*, 19 (1996–1997): pp. 205–206.
51 MNHCΘ[HTI K]E THC Δ(OY)ΛH C(OY) AANAC (sic) KE (TOY) TEKN/OY AYT[HC]/ A[MEN], see Safran, 'Deconstructing', p. 137.
52 Ibid., p. 137.
53 John Cotsonis, 'The Contribution of Byzantine Lead Seals to the Study of the Cult of Saints (Sixth-Twelfth Century)', *Byz*, 75 (2005): p. 477. Yangake has convincingly shown that a number of rings from Greece, Bulgaria and Albania that bear the invocation 'K(ύρι)ε <β> οήθη ἀνα' do not refer to St Anna, as Ognenova had previously suggested. See Anastasia Yangake, 'A Byzantine Signet-Ring from Ancient Messene Bearing the Inscription "K(YPI)E OHΘH ANA": A Contribution to a Group of Rings with the Same Inscription', in Elissavet P. Sioumpara and Kyriakos Psaroudakes (eds.), *ΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΝ. 24 μελέτες για τον Δάσκαλο ΠΕΤΡΟ ΘΕΜΕΛΗ από τους μαθητές και τους συνεργάτες του* (Athens, 2013), pp. 281–303; Ljuba Ognenova, 'Nouvelle interprétation de l'inscription "illyrienne" d'Albanie', *BCH*, 83 (1959): pp. 794–799.
54 Safran, 'Deconstructing', p. 139.
55 Benita Sciarra, 'Affreschi nella chiesa di S. Anna a Brindisi', *NapNob*, 9 (1970): p. 102.
56 Linda Safran, *Pietro at Otranto: Byzantine Art in South Italy* (Rome, 1992), p. 54.
57 David Paul Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality of the Italo-Greeks* (Thessalonike, 1992), p. 148.
58 See p. 107 in this volume.
59 Marcel Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor* (3 vols, Recklighausen, 1967), vol. 2, p. 16.
60 Nicole Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2002), p. 122; Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge*, pp. 203, 236; Nicole Thierry and Michel Thierry, 'Eglise de Kizil-Tchoukour, chapelle iconoclaste, chapelle de Joachim et d'Anne', *MonPiot*, 50 (1958), p. 146; Annabel Wharton-Epstein, 'The "Iconoclast" Churches of Cappadocia', in Antony Bryer and Judith Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham, 1977), pp. 108, 111; Restle [Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 3, chapel no xxxiii dates it to 850/860, and Grabar [André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (London, 1968), p. 129] between the tenth- and the eleventh century.
61 Thierry and Thierry, 'Eglise de Kizil-Tchoukour', pp. 138, 140–145.
62 Ibid., p. 115.
63 Ibid., pp. 123–124 and pl. X.
64 Ibid., pp. 140–141.
65 Owsei Temkin (trans.), *Soranus' Gynecology* (Baltimore, 1991), p. 76.
66 Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité*, p. 123.
67 Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p. 102.
68 Bert Sommer, *Die dekorierten Wandgrabanlagen im Arenar der Priscilla-Katakombe zu Rom* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 96–101.
69 Viktor Lasarev, 'Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin', *Art Bull*, 20 (1938): p. 28.
70 Mati Meyer, *An Obscure Portrait: Imaging Women's Reality in Byzantine Art* (London, 2009), pp. 302–303.
71 Thierry and Thierry, 'Eglise de Kizil-Tchoukour', p. 127.
72 Ibid., p. 128.
73 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 37; Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, p. 129.

74 Vladimir Lossky, 'Panagia', in Eric Lionel Mascall (ed.), *The Mother of God: A Symposium by Members of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius* (Westminster, 1950), p. 30. This is why the ninth-century homilist, George of Nikomedia, in his sermon on Mary's Nativity elaborates on the selection of Mary's parents with phrases such as 'they were preferred', 'they were selected', 'they were deemed worthy'; see PG 100: col. 1337C. The same point is made by Gregory Palamas, see Christou (ed.), *Γρηγορίου τοῦ* Παλαμᾶ, vol. 10, p. 592 (Nativity homily); Christou (ed.), *Γρηγορίου τοῦ* Παλαμᾶ, p. 250 (Entry homily) and in Nikolaos Kavasilas, see Nellas (ed. and trans.), *Ἡ Θεομήτωρ*, pp. 44–53 (Nativity homily).
75 Kalokyres, *Η Θεοτόκος*, p. 88.
76 On the way St Anna's conception of Mary is perceived by Byzantine preachers, see Eirini Panou, 'Mary's Parents in Homilies before and after James Kokkinobaphos', in Antony Eastmond and Elizabeth James (eds.), *Wonderful Things, Byzantium through Its Art (42nd Symposium of Byzantine Studies, King's College, London and Courtauld Institute, March 2009)* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 341–342.
77 See chapter 2.
78 Thierry and Thierry, 'Eglise de Kizil-Tchoukour', p. 126.
79 De Strycker (ed.), *La forme*, p. 70.
80 The *Protevangelion* does not directly connect Mary's parent to King David but the association is implied in the scene of Anne's discussion with her maid; see De Strycker (ed.), *Laforme*, p. 70.
81 The fourth-century theologians Cyril of Alexandria and John Chrysostom place Mary's birthplace in Bethlehem of Judea in order to associate Mary with King David, who originated there; see PG 71: col. 713A (Cyril of Alexandria); PG 49: col. 354 (John Chrysostom).
82 PG 100: col. 1352C.
83 PG 96: col. 1472A.
84 Nicole Thierry and Michel Thierry, 'Iconographie inédite en Cappadoce. Le cycle de la Conception et de L'enfance de la Vierge a Kizil-Tchoukour', in Franz Dölger and Hans-Georg Beck (eds.), *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongressen München1958* (Munich, 1960), p. 622; Thierry and Thierry, 'Eglise de Kizil-Tchoukour', pp. 144–145; Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge*, p. 220.
85 Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Iconography of the Cycle', pp. 163, 165.
86 Thierry and Thierry, 'Eglise de Kizil-Tchoukour', p. 144.
87 Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Iconography of the Cycle', p. 165, n. 12.
88 Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité*, p. 123 [she quotes there De Strycker (ed.), *La forme*, pp. 69–73], p. 139.
89 Thierry and Thierry, 'Eglise de Kizil-Tchoukour', p. 132.
90 Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge*, p. 267.
91 Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 3, p. lxii; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 178–189; Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité*, p. 110; Nicole Thierry and Michel Thierry, *Nouvelles eglises rupestres de Cappadoce, region du Hasan Dagi* (Paris, 1963), pp. 188–189, 192; Luciano Giovannini, *Arts of Cappadocia* (London, 1971), p. 158; Lyn Rodley, *Cave monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 90, 94; Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 37; Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris, 1991), p. 323.
92 Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 3, chapel no LVII, nos 37, 38.
93 Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 173–174; Thierry and Thierry, *Nouvelles eglises*, p. 102.
94 Thierry and Thierry, *Nouvelles eglises*, p. 102.
95 'Τῶν δικαίων Θεοπατόρων σου Κύριε, τήν μνήμην ἑορτάζοντες, δι'αὐτῶν σε δυσωποῦμεν', see Spyridon Zervos (ed.), *Ὡρολόγιον τὸ μέγα* (Venice, 1876), pp. 192–193.

For the translation of the word *δυσωποῦμεν* as *venerate* and *respect*, see Lampe, *A Patristic*, p. 394.

96 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 62. A thirteenth-century depiction survives in Ḥiṣn Sinan (near Akhisar), where apart from the Entry of Mary, Anna is probably depicted in the niche of the southwestern wall; see Friedrich Hild und Marcell Restle (eds.), *Tabula imperii Byzantini. Bd. 2, Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)* (Vienna, 1981), p. 278.

97 Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge*, p. 306.

98 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, pl. 24, fig. 3. For its date, see ibid., p. 199.

99 Ibid., p. 199.

100 Emmanuele Testa, *Il Simbolismo dei giudeo-cristiani* (Jerusalem, 1962), p. 18.

101 David Buckton (ed.), *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), pp. 142–143; David Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (London, 1959), pp. 314–315.

102 Christopher Walter, 'The Apotropaic Function of the Victorious Cross', *Byz*, 55 (1997): pp. 206–207.

103 Ernst Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo = Mosaici di Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio a Palermo* (Washington, DC, 1991), p. 138.

104 Valentino Pace, 'Pittura Bizantine nell'Italia meridionale', in Guglielmo Cavallo (ed.), *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1982), pp. 433–434.

105 Kitzinger, *The Mosaics*, p. 137.

106 Heinz Demisch, *Erhobene Hände: Geschichte einer Gebärde in der bildenden Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 140–141, Abb. 188.

107 Hahnloser and Polacco, *La pala*, p. 49, pl. 98.

108 Guillaume De Jerphanion, 'Les caractéristiques et les attributes des saints', in *La Voix des monuments, Études d'archaéologie, Nouvelle série* (Rome and Paris, 1938), p. 308.

109 Aimilia Bakourou, *AD*, 35 (1980): p. 166, pl. 68.

110 Maria Evangelatou, 'Pursuing Salvation through a Body of Parchment: Books and Their Significance in the Illustrated Homilies of Iakobos of Kokkinobaphos', *MS*, 68 (2006): p. 276.

111 Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, p. 134.

112 De Jerphanion, 'Les caractéristiques et les attributes des saints', p. 308.

113 Demisch, *Erhobene*, p. 132. For its dating, see ibid., p. 135.

114 Ibid., p. 124.

115 Ibid., p. 130. She dates it to the eleventh century; see ibid., p. 131; Restle dates it to 1190–1220; see Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 127–134.

116 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 282. She dates it to the eleventh century; see ibid., p. 283. In the northern apse of the church of Kambazli Kilise (Ortahisar) Mary is depicted enthroned holding Christ. Anna is shown in prayer on the one side but Joachim's image has not survived. Following Thierry [Nicole Thierry and Michel Thierry, 'Une nouvelle église rupestre de Cappadoce: Cambazli Kilise à Ortahisar', *JS*, 1 (1963): p. 9], Jolivet-Lévy (Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 197), asserts that Joachim must have originally been included in prayer position on the other side (for reasons of symmetry?). Jolivet-Lévy (Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 198) dates the decorative program to the beginning of the thirteenth century, although – as she mentions – Thierry dates it to the second half of the eleventh century. Hild und Restle [Hild und Restle (eds.), *Tabula imperii Byzantini*, p. 250], have accepted an early thirteenth-century date. Moreover, Joachim and Anna are possibly found in the eleventh-century depiction in Karlik (Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 176), where Jerphanion has identified a female saint with Mary. Jolivet-Lévy's identification of St Anna is based on a similar depiction surviving in Tatlarin (1215), where Anna and Joachim are placed on the southern apse on either side of the Virgin, who is flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel; see Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, 'Art chrétien en Anatolie turque: le témoignage de peintures inédites à Tatlarin', in Antony

Eastmond (ed.), *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 137, 144 (image). In contrast to Kambazli Kilise and to Elmali Kilise, where Jerphanion identified Anna on the eastern pillar of the nave with her arms opened in front of her chest [Guillaume De Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: les églises rupestres de Cappadoce: texte. T.2. Pt.2*. (Paris, 1936), p. 435], Anna is not shown praying in Tarlarin but holding a cross in her right hand, while her left palm is depicted outward; Joachim blesses with his right hand and holds a roll in his left hand. In Belli Kilise (eleventh century) Anna is depicted with three saints whom Jerphanion neither describes nor provides further details. See Guillaume De Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: les églises rupestres de Cappadoce: texte. T.1. Pt.2*. (Paris, 1932), p. 295.

117 *Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger*, Byzantinische Apsisnebenräume: Untersuchung zur Funktion der Apsisnebenräume in den Höhlenkirchen Kappadokiens und in den mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Konstantinopels (Weimar, 1998), pp. 31–33.

118 Natalia Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia* (Rome, 1996), p. 91.

119 Ibid., p. 87.

120 Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), p. 80.

121 PG 155: col. 264C.

122 Horst Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule des Königs Milutin: Untersuchungen zum Werk einer byzantinischen Malerwerkstatt zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Giessen, 1963), p. 56.

123 Kitzinger, *The Mosaics*, p. 136.

124 Eirini Panou, 'The Imagery of Mary's Parents in the Byzantine Art of Eastern Europe and the Balkans', in Mitko B. Panov (ed.), *Proceedings of the 2nd International Symposium Days of Justinian I, Skopje, 17–18 October 2014* (Skopje, 2015): pp. 188–199.

125 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 343.

126 Nikolaos B. Drandakes, *Βυζαντιναί τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens, 1964), p. 71.

127 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 39. For its dating, see ibid., p. 44.

128 Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), *Διονυσίου ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, pp. 278–289.

129 For the dating of the chapel 33 to the eleventh century, see Wharton-Epstein, *Art of empire*, pp. 37, 44.

130 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 145; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 2, p. xxv, no 421; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 134–135; Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), *Διονυσίου ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, pp. 169–170, 273. Jolivet-Lévy agreed with Jerphanion's identification of this Anna with Anna Ephemianos (Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 145), which is problematic considering the number of saints and martyrs named Anna in the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarion*.

131 Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge*, pp. 267, 268, fig. 76b, p. 269. Jolivet-Lévy (Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 56) dates it to the late eleventh century, Thierry around 700 (Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité*, pp. 126, 133). Wharton-Epstein places it in the ninth century, but she does not recognize St Anna in this depiction ('Cosmas and Damian, Panteleimon and a female saint'), see Wharton-Epstein, *Art of empire*, p. 18.

132 Hippolyte Delehaye (ed.), *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels, 1902), p. 825.

133 Ibid., p. 845.

134 Ibid., p. 847.

135 Ibid., p. 796.

136 Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge*, p. 269.

137 Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (Austin, 1992), p. 32.

138 Jane Ralls Baun, *Tales from Another Byzantium: Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 288–299.

139 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 274.
140 Rodley, *Cave monasteries*, p. 198. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 1, p. 162; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 3, p. xlviii, no. 38; Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité*, p. 110. The date is based on a dedicatory inscription; see De Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle* (1932), p. 334. Jerphanion refers only to Anna's depiction on the arcade of the northern wall, see ibid., p. 336.
141 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 212; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 3, p. xxxv, nos 37, 38. fig. 359; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 146–148; Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité*, p. 183; De Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle*, p. 190. In chapel 19 (1190–1200) in Göreme, two figures are placed between a Deesis scene, one has been identified with St Anna, but it is uncertain that Joachim ever featured in the scene; see Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 2, p. xviii, nos 37, 38; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 1, pp. 124–125; Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, p. 125 (eleventh century).
142 Rainer Warland, 'Deesis – Emmanuel – Maria. Bildkonzepte kappadokischer Höhlenkirchen des 13. Jahrhunderts', in Guntram Koch (ed.), *Byzantinische Malerei: Bildprogramme, Ikonographie, Stil: Symposium in Marburg vom 25.-29.6.1997* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 380–381; Rodley (Rodley, *Cave monasteries*, p. 56) dates the paintings to the mid-eleventh century.
143 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, pp. 287, 291 (for the date).
144 Nicole Thierry, 'L'art monumental byzantin en Asie Mineure du XIe siècle au XIVe', *DOP*, 29 (1975): p. 84, where it is dated between 1006 and 1021.
145 Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises*, pp. 125–126; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting*, vol. 1, p. 126.
146 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, pp. 37, 92; Gordana Babić, 'Sur l'iconographie de la composition "Nativité de la Vierge" dans la peinture byzantine', *ZRVI*, 7 (1961): pp. 169, 175; Chirat, 'La naissance', p. 89.
147 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 92.
148 Mateos (ed.), *Le Typicon*, pp. 18, 22.
149 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, pp. 46–47, 134.
150 The relationship between the iconography of Sts Anna and Joachim and the Passion of Christ are attested in the Balkans. See Panou, 'The Imagery', and also Eirini Panou, 'Apocryphal Genealogy in Fourteenth-Century Serbia', in Misa Rakocija (ed.), *Nis and Byzantium XIII, Stefan Nemanja between East and West, Nis i Vizantija VI. Zbornik radova VII* (Nis, 2015), pp. 87–96.
151 Marilyn Heldman-Eiseman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Frē* Ṣeyon*: A Study of Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 116, 118, fig. 68.
152 Ibid., pp. 116–117.
153 De Strycker (ed.), *La forme*, p. 90.
154 For Macedonia, see Eirini Panou, 'Female Patronage in the Churches of Macedonia during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period', in George Kakavas et al. (eds.), *The Institution of Sponsorship from Ancient to Modern Times* (forthcoming).
155 Nano M. Chatzedake, *Hosios Loukas: Byzantine Painting in Greece* (Athens, 1997), p. 28.
156 Ibid., p. 19.
157 Nausika Panselinou, 'Τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στην Αργολίδα. Ο ναός των Ταξιαρχών και ο Άγιος Ιωάννης ο Θεολόγος', *D.C.A.E.*, 16 (1991–1992): p. 165.
158 Ibid., p. 161. Similar depictions are found in the thirteenth-century church of the Koimesis of Mary in Ellinika Antheias in Messenia [Konstantinos Kalokyres, *Βυζαντιναί Εκκλησίαι της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας* (Thessalonike, 1973), pp. 114–115] and in the church of Sts Sergios and Bacchos (1262–1285) in Mani, see Gerstel, 'Painted Sources', p. 97. For the impact of the Fourth Crusade on the art of the Peloponnesse, see Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, 'Επιπτώσεις της Δ΄ Σταυροφορίας στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική της Πελοποννήσου και της Ανατολικής Στερεάς Ελλάδας έως τα τέλη του 13ου αιώνα', in Panagiotes L. Vokotopoulos (ed.), *Η Βυζαντινή τέχνη μετά την Τέταρτη Σταυροφορία* (Athens, 2007), pp. 63–88.

159 Manoles Chatzedakes, *AD*, 22 (1967): 23, pl. 30a.
160 Bakourou, *AD*, 35 (1980): p. 166, pl. 68.
161 Jenny P. Albani, *Die byzantinischen Wandmalereien der Panagia Chrysaphitissa-Kirche in Chrysapha/Lakonien* (Athens, 2000), p. 39, no 59 (Anna and Mary), no 60 (Mary's Entry to the Temple), pp. 37–38, no 59.
162 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, 'Δωρεές γυναικών στην υστεροβυζαντινή περίοδο', in Maria Panayotide-Kessisoglou (ed.), *Η Γυναίκα στο Βυζάντιο, Λατρεία και Τέχνη* (Athens, 2012), p. 253.
163 Emmanuel, 'Παρατηρήσεις', p. 115.
164 Melita Emmanuel, 'Η Αγία Σοφία του Μυστρά. Παρατηρήσεις στις τοιχογραφίες και στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα', in Athanasios Paliouras and Angelike Stavropoulou (eds.), *Volume Dedicated to Miltos Garidis (1926–1996)* (Ioannina, 2003), pp. 159–160, 171.
165 Nikolaos Moutsopoulos and Georgios Dimitrokalles, *Γεράκι, οι εκκλησίες του οικισμού* (Thessalonike, 1981), p. 233, fig. 40; Eva Haustein-Bartsch, 'Zu einer kretischen Bematur des 15. Jahrhunderts im Ikonen-Museum Recklinghausen', in Guntram Koch (ed.), *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme, Ikonographie, Stil* (Wiesbaden, 2000), p. 102; for the date of the iconography, see Moutsopoulos and Dimitrokalles, *Γεράκι*, p. 73.
166 Virgil S. Crisafulli (trans.) and John W. Nesbitt and John F. Haldon, *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 7–8.
167 Ibid., p. 176.
168 Robin Cormack, *Icons* (London, 2007), p. 40.
169 See for example the burial chapel dedicated to St Nicholas on Mount Penteli in Attica (thirteenth century) in Doula Mouriki, 'Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες των παρεκκλησίων της σπηλιάς Πεντέλης', *D.C.A.E.*, 4/7 (1973–1974): p. 81.
170 Bakourou, *AD*, 36 (1980): p. 141, pl. 78b.
171 Melita Emmanuel, 'Hairstyles and Headdresses of Empresses, Princesses and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium', *D.C.A.E.*, ΙΖ΄ (1994): pp. 113–120.
172 For a plan of the church, see Nikolaos B. Drandakes, 'Ο σπηλαιώδης ναός του Προδρόμου κοντά στα Χρύσαφα Λακωνίας της Λακεδαίμονος', *D.C.A.E.*, 15 (1991): p. 180.
173 Ibid., p. 193.
174 Ibid., pp. 186, 191–192.
175 Ibid., p. 187.
176 Apart from an unpublished icon from Sinai, discussed later.
177 'Τίς οὐκ οἶδεν Ἰωακεὶμ καὶ Ἄνναν . . . , τίς οὕτω τῶν θείων Γραφῶν ἀνεπίσκεπτος . . . ;' PG 105: 20A-B.
178 Kyriakopoulos (ed.), *ΑγίουΠέτρου*, p. 24 verse 75: ' Ἄννα . . . τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς φιλοσοφίας τὸ καύχημα'.
179 ' Ἐκλεγεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν', see PG 127: 600A.
180 For more details, see Panou, 'Mary's Parents in Homilies', p. 342.
181 Bakourou, *AD*, p. 139.
182 Nikolaos B. Drandakes, *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens, 1995), pp. 100, 77 and pl. 7 no 4–5.
183 In the Pantanassa church (fifteenth century) in Mistras, Anna and Joachim are placed under Mary holding Christ between two angels; see Suzy Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises Byzantines de Mistra* (Paris, 1970), p. 9, pl. 21, nos 2–3.
184 Leone, 'Nicephori', pp. 27–28.
185 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, 'Zur Kirche der Hagia Anna auf der Insel Kea/Kyklades. Malerefragmente aus der Zeit Michaels VIII Palaiologos (?)', in Birgitt Borkopp and Thomas Steppan (eds.), *Lithostroton: Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte: Festschrift für Marcell Restle* (Stuttgart, 2000), p. 133; Aggelike Mitsane,

'Monumental Painting in the Cyclades during the Thirteenth Century', *D.C.A.E.*, 21 (2000): p. 98.

186 In 1207 Marino Sanudo took over Naxos and the most important islands of the Cyclades; see Kenneth M. Setton, 'The Frankish States in Greece, 1204–1311', in Robert L. Wolff and Harry W. Hazard (eds.), *A History of the Crusades, Vol. 2, The Later Crusades, 1189–1311* (Madison and London, 1969), p. 238.

187 Based on Athanasios Papageorgiou [Athanasios Papageorgiou, 'Η παλαιοχριστιανική και Βυζαντινή αρχαιολογία και τέχνη εν Κύπρω κατά τα έτη 1967–8', *ΑπΒ* (1969): pp. 282–284], Dresken-Weiland asserts that the earliest depictions of Joachim and Anna are two medallions in the church of Solomoni in Kome tou Gialou in Cyprus, who based on stylistic affinities, dates them to the seventh or eighth century [Jutta Dresken-Weiland, 'Die Kirche "Agia Solomoni" bei Komi tou Gialou: Wandmalerei auf Zypern aus der Zeit des Bildersturms', in Johannes G. Deckers and Marie-Elisabeth Mitsou and Sabine Rogg (eds.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Zyperns von der Spätantike bis zur Neuzeit* (Münster and New York, 2005), p. 59]. Nevertheless, the identification of with Mary's parents is doubtful since 'their sandals are too big and their garments too short' (Dresken-Weiland, 'Die Kirche', p. 47, n. 38), an attire that Mary's parents are not accustomed to. Moreover, without explaining how a medallion should include anything else than the upper torso, Papageorgiou (whom Dresken-Weiland uses as a source) nowhere in that article refers to medallions of Sts Anna and Joachim, but only the scene of the Meeting of Anna and Joachim. See Papageorgiou, 'Η παλαιοχριστιανική', p. 284, where he refers to the depictions of the western wall.

188 Doula Mourike, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios* (Athens, 1985), p. 70, pls 67, 69, 213, 215; Anastasios K. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios. II, Planches* (Athens, 1930), pl. 24.2.

189 Mourike, *The Mosaics*, pp. 139, 148–149.

190 Laskarina Bouras, 'Architectural Sculptures of the Twelfth and the Early: Thirteenth Centuries in Greece', *D.C.A.E.*, 9 (1977–1979): p. 65.

191 Skawran, *The Development*, p. 176.

192 Ioannou, *Byzantine frescoes*, p. viii; Myrto Georgopoulou-Verra, 'Τοιχογραφίες του τέλους του 13ου αιώνα στην Εύβοια. Ο Σωτήρας στο Πυργί και η Αγία Θέκλα', *A.D.*, 32.1 (1977): pp. 9–10.

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194 Emmanuel, 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου', p. 407; Melita Emmanuel, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγ. Δημητρίου στο Μακρυχώρι και της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στον Οξύλινθο της Εύβοιας* (Athens, 1991), pp. 147–148.

195 Emmanuel, 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου', p. 407.

196 Georgopoulou-Verra, 'Τοιχογραφίες', p. 10.

197 Emmanuel, *Οι τοιχογραφίες*, pp. 147–148 and pl. 77.

198 Emmanuel, *Οι τοιχογραφίες*, p. 21, n. 73; Gerstel, 'Painted Sources', p. 99.

199 On the association of Anna and Joachim with the Passion and Death of Christ in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, see Panou, 'The Imagery', esp. pp. 195–196.

200 Emmanuel, *Οι τοιχογραφίες*, p. 21, pl. 7b; Ioannou, *Byzantine frescoes*, pl. 54.

201 Walter, *The Warrior*, p. 61.

202 Aimilia Gkiaoure, 'Ο ναός του Αγίου Νικολάου κοντά στο Γεράκι', *AD*, 32 (1977): p. 114, pl. 38a-b.

203 Emmanuel, *Οι τοιχογραφίες*, p. 147 and pl. 73.

204 Tania Velmans, 'Valeurs sémantiques du Mandylion selon son emplacement ou son association avec d'autres images', in Birgitt Borkopp and Barbara Schellewald and Lioba Theis (eds.), *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag* (Amsterdam, 1995), p. 183.

205 Ibid., pp. 95, 105.

206 Ibid., pl. 38b and p. 105.

207 Charalampidis P. Konstantinos, 'La croce nell'iconographia bizantina fino al XIV secolo', in Ulderico Parente (ed.), *La croce: iconografia e interpretazione, secoli I-inizio XVI: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Napoli (6–11 dicembre 1999)* (Naples, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 80–82, figs 4–5, p. 95.

208 Gkiaoure, 'Ο ναός', p. 105.

209 Tsitouridou, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος*, p. 35; Timothy S. Miller, *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Wmpire* (Washington, DC and London, 2003), p. 229.

210 Giorgos Kakavas, 'Τάσεις της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής στον Εύβοια το 14ο αιώνα, Η περίπτωση της Αγίας Άννας στον Οξύλιθο', in Chryssa Maltezou and Christina Papakosta (eds.), *Venezia – Eubea,Da Egripos a Negroponte* (Venice and Athens, 2006), pp. 272–273.

211 A double church (probably dating to the fifteenth century) is dedicated to St Nicholas and St Anna in the village of Drapeti, southeast of Herakleion (Crete). Anna's imagery in this chapel will be published soon by the author.

212 Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies Architecture and Urbanism* (New York, 2001), p. 24.

213 In the region of Selino a church existed every 3.14 square kilometres counting 130 churches, which renders Selino as the most densed area in terms of church building in Crete; see Angelike Lymberopoulou, 'Late and Post-Byzantine Art under Venetian Rule: Frescoes vesrus Icons, and Crete in the Middle', in Liz James (ed.), *A Companium to Byzantium* (Oxford, 2010), p. 352; Angelike Lymberopoulou, 'Fourteenth-Century Regional Cretan Church Decoration: The Case of the Painter Pagomenos and His Clientele', in Piotr Ł. Grotowksi and Sławomir Skrzyniarz (eds.), *Towards Rewriting? New Approaches to Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Warsaw, 2010), p. 161.

214 Dimitris Tsougarakes, 'Η συνείδηση της ταυτότητας των κοινοτήτων της Κρήτης στη βυζαντινή εποχή και στην πρώιμη Βενετοκρατία', in Theochares Detorakes and Alexis Kalokairinos (eds.), *Πεπραγμένα Θ΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Ελούντα, Οκτώβριος 2001). Κεντρικές Εισηγήσεις* (Herakleion, 2006), p. 40.

215 Anastasia Drandake, 'Between Byzantium and Venice: Icon painting in Venetian Crete in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in Anastasia Drandake (ed.), *The Origins of El Greco: Icon Painting in Venetian Crete* (New York, 2009), p. 11; Amy Neff, 'Byzantium Westernized, Byzantium Marginalized: Two Icons in the Supplicationes Variae', *Gesta*, 38 (1999): p. 17; Stavros N. Maderakes, 'Η βυζαντινή ζωγραφική στην Κρήτη γύρω στα 1300', in Ioannes Vasses and Marina Loukake and Episteme Papadopoulou (eds.), *Γ' συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου 22–24 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000* (Rethymno, 2002), p. 129; Maria Georgopoulou, 'Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage', *ABull*, 77 (1995): pp. 479–496.

216 Nikolaos Gkioles, 'Εικονογραφικά θέματα στην Βυζαντινή τέχνη εμπνευσμένα από την αντιπαράθεση και τα σχίσματα των δύο Εκκλησιών', in *Θωράκιον, αφιέρωμα στην μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη* (Athens, 2004), pp. 279–280.

217 Maria Vassilakes-Mavrakakes, 'Western Influences on the Fourteenth Century of Crete', *JÖB*, 32.5 (1982): p. 302; Konstantinos Kalokyres, 'La peinture murale Byzantine de l'île de Crète', *KC*, 8 (1954): pp. 389, 396.

218 Maria Vassilake, 'Η Κρήτη υπό Βενετική κυριαρχία. Η μαρτυρία των μνημείων του 13ου αιώνα', in Panagiotes Vokotopoulos (ed.), *Η βυζαντινή τέχνη μετά την Τετάρτη σταυροφορία. Η Τετάρτη σταυροφορία και οι επιπτώσεις της (Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Ακαδημία Αθηνών, 9–12 Μαρτίου 2004)* (Athens, 2007), p. 35; Vassilakes-Mavrakakes, 'Western Influences', p. 302.

219 Manoles Chatzedakes, 'Τοιχογραφίες στην Κρήτη', *KC*, 6 (1952): p. 85, and also Dimitris Tsougarakes, 'La tradizione culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione veneziana a Creta. Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell' indentita

culturale', in Gherardo Ortalli (ed.), *Venezia e Creta.Atti delConvegno Internazionale di Studi(Iraklion-Chania, 1997)* (Venice, 1998), pp. 509–522.

220 McKee (ed.), *Wills*, p. 30.

221 Stephanos Kaklamanis (ed.), *Francesco Barozzi, Descrittione dell'isola di Creta (Περιγραφή της Κρήτης) (1577/8). Μια γεωγραφική και αρχαιολογική περιγραφή της Κρήτης στα χρόνια της Αναγέννησης* (Herakleion, 2004), p. 451.

222 Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 136.

223 McKee (ed.), *Wills*, p. 30.

224 Angelike Lymberopoulou, '"Pro anima Mea", but Do Not Touch My Icons: Provisions for Personal Icons in Wills from Venetian-Dominated Crete', in Dionysios Stathakopoulos (ed.), *The Kindness of Strangers: Charity in the Pre-Modern Mediterranean* (London, 2007), p. 77, n. 34, 81; McKee (ed.), *Wills*, p. 603. See also Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 109.

225 Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Claude Cheynet, 'Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World', in Angeliki E. Laiou, et al. (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, DC, 2002), p. 150.

226 Xharalambos Gasparis, *Land and Peasants in Medieval Crete, 13th–14th c*. (Athens, 1997), p. 389.

227 McKee (ed.), *Wills*, p. 101.

228 The dedication of a fourteenth-century church to St Anna in Eleutherna (Rethymno) is presumably Orthodox according to the decoration it bears [Ioannes Tzifopoulos, 'The Inscriptions', in Petros Themelis (ed.), *Πρωτοβυζαντινὴ Ἐλεύθερνα Τομέας Ι* (2 vols, Rethymno, 2000), vol. 2, p. 248]. However, the surviving mural decoration is very much destroyed and the images are unidentifiable.

229 Ibid., p. 607.

230 Ernst Gerland, *Histoire de la noblesse cretoise au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1907), pp. 119–120. A church of St Anna existed in Amari (1225), although no image of the St Anna has come down to us from this church. However, the composer Andrew of Crete who has dedicated homilies on the early life of Mary is preserved in the apse. See Stella Papadaki-Oekland, 'Οι τοιχογραφίες της Αγίας Άνναs στο Αμάρι. Παρατηρήσεις σε μία παραλλαγή της Δεήσεως', *D.C.A.E.*, 7 (1973–1974): p. 51.

231 Angelike Lymberopoulou, 'Late and Post-Byzantine Art', pp. 352–353.

232 Thetis Xanthaki, 'Ο ναός' της Αγίας Άνναs στο Ανισαράκι Κάνδανου: Ο κύκλος της Αγίας, οι αφιερωτές, η χρονολόγηση', *D.C.A.E.*, 31 (2010): p. 85. Xanthaki argues that the majority of scholars date the decoration of the church to 1457 due to Gerola's wrong reading of the dedicatory inscription; see ibid., pp. 83–84.

233 Ibid., p. 71.

234 Ibid., pp. 80–81.

235 Passarelli, *Creta*, p. 127 fig. 136, p. 129; Xanthaki, 'Ο ναός', p. 71.

236 Ioannes Spatharakes, *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings* (Leiden, 2001), p. 207; Passarelli, *Creta*, p. 126, figs. 135, 129.

237 Gerstel, 'An Alternate View', p. 138.

238 Xanthaki, 'Ο ναός', p. 72.

239 Ibid., p. 72.

240 Ibid., p. 73. According to Maderakes, this image dates to 1352.

241 Bissinger, *Kreta*, p. 191; Spatharakes, *Dated*, p. 128.

242 Spatharakes, *Dated*, p. 130.

243 In Kythira, in the chapel of St Blasios, as part of the Annunciation of Anna, the saint is depicted on a throne leaning towards Archangel Gabriel; see Manoles Chatzedakes and Ioanna Bitha, *Ευρετήριο Βυζαντινών Τοιχογραφιών Ελλάδος. Κύθηρα* (Athens, 1997), p. 116.

244 Skawran, *The Development*, p. 182; Gerstel, 'Painted Sources', p. 97.

245 Skawran, *The Development*, fig. 413.

246 Spatharakes, *Dated*, p. 69.
247 Konstantinos Lassithiotakes, 'Ο ναός των Εισοδίων και μια παλαιότερη βασιλική στο Φόδελε', *KC*, E (1951): p. 85.
248 Ibid., p. 67. In the church of Archangel Michael (fourteenth century, Kissamos) Anna's suckling is repeated; see Passarelli, *Creta*, fig. 140.
249 Spatharakes, *Byzantine Wall Paintings*, p. 108. Spatharakes claims that the painter of this image was not the same with the one commissioned by Michael Melisourgos, his wife Eirene and their children; see ibid., p. 108.
250 Spatharakes, *Byzantine Wall Paintings*, p. 184.
251 Ibid., figs. 135–136.
252 Spatharakes, *Dated*, p. 149.
253 Ibid., p. 135.
254 See randomly McKee (ed.), *Wills*, pp. 687, 700, 873, 976.
255 Ibid., p. 871.
256 Georgopoulou, *Venetian colonies*, p. 153.
257 For the dedicatory inscription, see Konstantinos Kalokyres, *Meletemata Christianikes Orthodoxou archaiologias kai technes* (Thessalonike, 1980), p. 85; Chatzedakes, 'Τοιχογραφίες', p. 61, who read it as '1292'.
258 Kalokyres, *Meletemata*, p. 42, fig. 32; Emmanuel Borboudakes, *AD*, 27 Chronika (1972): pl. 621a; Chatzedakes, 'Τοιχογραφίες', p. 61.
259 Kalokyres, 'Βυζαντινά μνημεία', p. 269.
260 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, 'Church Foundations by Entire Villages (13th–16th c.): A Short Note', *ZRVI*, 44 (2007): p. 336.
261 Kalokyres, 'Βυζαντινά μνημεία', p. 241.
262 Aikaterine Mylopotamitake, *Ο ναός της Παναγίας Κεράς Κριτσάς* (Herakleio, 2005), pp. 46–48.
263 Věra Klontza and Hedvika Sedláčková, 'Blown Glass in Wall Paintings from Kritsa, Crete: A Preliminary Report', *JGS*, 50 (2008): p. 315.
264 Kalokyres, 'Βυζαντινά μνημεία', p. 270.
265 Chatzedakes, 'Τοιχογραφίες', p. 62.
266 Kalokyres, *Η Θεοτόκος*, pp. 95, 104.
267 Spatharakes, *Byzantine Wall Paintings*, pp. 101, 111.
268 Papadaki-Oekland, *AD*, 21 (1966): p. 432.
269 Spatharakes, *Byzantine Wall Paintings*, pp. 105, 107–108.
270 André Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon: le Mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe* (Prague, 1931), p. 25. See also Velmans, 'Valeurs', p. 173; Andreas Nicolaides, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: Etude iconographique des fresques de 1192', *DOP*, 50 (1996): p. 205.
271 'Σύ γάρ τήν σήν εἰκόνα μορφωσάμενος, αὐτήν πρός τό ἀρχέτυπον ἀνήγαγες', see Matthew Lagges (ed.), *Ο μέγας συναξαριστής της Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας* (Athens, 1984), p. 264.
272 Not necessarily with Mary's parents; see Gaetano Passarelli, *Creta tra Bisanzio e Venezia* (Milan, 2007), p. 110.
273 Grabar, *La Sainte Face*, p. 24.
274 Papadaki-Oekland, *AD*, 21 (1966): p. 432
275 Skawran, *The Development*, p. 181.
276 Lymberopoulou, *The Church*, p. 131.
277 Papadaki-Oekland, *AD*, 21 (1966): p. 433.
278 Lymberopoulou, *The Church*, p. 131.
279 Ibid., p. 56; Bissinger, *Kreta*, p. 106; Papadaki-Oekland, *AD*, 21 (1966): p. 431, pl. 468b. Outside Crete, busts of Anna and Joachim (holding a scroll) under the Annunciation scene are found in the double church of Sts George and Nicholas in Lathreno in Naxos (last decade of the thirteenth century); see Maria Panayotide, 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Γεωργίου Λαθρήνου στη Νάξο', *D.C.A.E.*, 16 (1991–1992): p. 151, where on the top of

the arch of the sanctuary the Old of the Days is depicted; see ibid., pp. 141, 146, 148. Also, in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou (Cyprus), the late fourteenth-century standing figures of Sts Joachim (holding a scroll) and Anna (holding a cross) have been placed under the Annunciation of Mary; see Andreas Stylianou and Judith Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (Cyprus, 1997), p. 133 (fig. 65); Carolyn L. Connor, 'Female Saints in Church Decoration of the Troodos Mountains in Cyprus', in Nancy Patterson Ševčenko and Christopher Moss (eds.), *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture and History in Memory of Doula Mourike* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), pp. 215, 217; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'L' évolution du programme decorative des églises de 1071 a 1261', in *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études Byzantines, Athénes, Septembre 1976* (Athens, 1979), vol. 1, p. 296.

280 Spatharakes, *Dated*, p. 195.

281 Ibid., p. 196.

282 Tomadakes, 'Ἰωσὴφ', p. 109; Eustratiades, 'Ταμεῖον', (1937): pp. 14–15.

283 Tomadakes, 'Ἰωσὴφ', pp. 205, 227; Eustratiades, 'Ταμεῖον', (1937): p. 428; Szövérffy, *A Guide*, p. 29.

284 Tischendorf (ed.), *Evangelia apocrypha*, p. 20.

285 Gerstel, 'An Alternate View', p. 174. See also Henry Maguire, *Art and eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ and Guildford, 1981), p. 47; Florentina Badalanova-Geller, 'The Spinning of Mary: Towards the Iconology of the Annunciation', *Cosmos*, 20 (2004): pp. 211–260.

286 Grabar, *La Sainte Face*, p. 24; Gerstel, *Beholding*, p. 70; Glenn Peers, *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2004), p. 128; Velmans, 'Valeurs', pp. 178–179; Evangelatou, 'Pursuing', pp. 261–279; Passarelli, *Creta*, p. 106; Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité*, p. 125.

287 For the promotion of Christ's humanity through the Annunciation of Mary, see Hélène Papastavrou, *Recherche iconographique dans l'art byzantin et occidental du XIe au XVe siécle: l'Annonciation* (Venice, 2007), pp. 227–240.

288 Spatharakes, *Dated*, p. 12; Papadaki-Oekland, 'Το Άγιο Μανδήλιο', p. 283; Xanthaki has suggested that the busts of Mary's parents in Sklavopoula are the only ones without the Virgin in their proximity; see Xanthaki, 'Ο ναός', p. 73. It seems, however, that Mary's presence is insinuated by the Annunciation scene.

289 Spatharakes, *Dated*, pp. 16–17. Spatharakes argues that these iconographical peculiarities suggest Western influence; see ibid., p. 58. The iconography dates to 1311–1312 or 1315–1316 according to the inscription, but Spatharakes claims that the paintings were executed earlier; see ibid., p. 17.

290 Stavros N. Maderakes, 'Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγ. Δημητρίου στο Λειβαδά Σελίνου του νομού Χανίων', in *Έβδομο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης, Πρόγραμμα και περιλήψεις ανακοινώσεων, Αθήνα, 24, 25 και 26 Απριλίου 1987* (Athens, 1987), p. 45.

291 Spatharakes, *Byzantine Wall Paintings*, p. 268.

292 Ibid., pp. 265–266.

293 Eirini Panou, 'The Theological Substance of St Anna's Motherhood in Texts and Images' (forthcoming).

294 Drandake, 'Between Byzantium', p. 11.

295 Nancy Patterson Ševcenko, 'The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on Four ByzantineIcons', *D.C.A.E.*, 17 (1993–1994): p. 162.

296 Helen H. Evans and William D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–126* (New York, 1997), p. 88. Rice dates it to the twelfth century, see Rice, *The Art*, p. 322.

297 Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins (eds.), *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (Los Angeles, 2006), p. 107; Vokotopoulos, *Βυζαντινές*, pp. 196–197, figs 22–23.

298 Vokotopoulos, *Βυζαντινές*, p. 197.

299 'Ἰωακείμ καί Ἄννα ὀνειδισμῷ ἀτεκνίας καί Ἀδάμ καί Εὔα ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς τοῦ θανάτου ἠλευθερώθησαν, ἐν τῇ ἁγία γεννήσει σου', see Pitra (ed.), *Analecta sacra*, pp.

198–201; Panagiotes Nikolopoulos, ‘Ὕμνοι (Κοντάκια) σωζόμενοι εις χειρόγραφα της Βαλλικελιανής Βιβλιοθήκης της Ρώμης’, *EEBS*, 28 (1958): p. 288; Maas and Trypanis (eds.), *Sancti Romani*, p. 276.

300 Evans and Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 372.

301 Ibid., p. 372.

302 Kurt Weitzmann, ‘Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom’, *DOP*, 20 (1966): p. 68, figs. 35–36.

303 Manoles Chatzedakes, ‘Τοιχογραφίες στη Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνας στο Σινά’, *D.C.A.E.*, 6 (1970–1972): pp. 212–213.

304 Christopher Walter, *The Iconography of Constantine the Great, Emperor and Saint* (Leiden, 2006), p. 52.

306 In Soteriou’s book, an icon of similar arrangement is mentioned (no 163), with Prophet Isaiah standing next to Mary; see Georgios Soteriou, *Εικόνες της μονής Σινά* (Athens, 1958), vol. 2, fig. 163.

307 Evans (ed.), *Byzantium*, pp. 51–52.

308 Ibid., p. 52.

309 Ibid.

310 Ibid., p. 53.

311 Soteriou, *Εικόνες της μονής Σινά*, vol. 1, pp. 143–144; Soteriou, *Εικόνες*, vol. 2, fig.164.

312 Ševcenko, ‘The Representation’, pp. 160–161.

313 Titos Papamastorakes, ‘Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις κατά τη μέση και ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο’, *D.C.A.E.*, 19 (1996–1997): p. 300.

314 Ševcenko, ‘The Representation’, p. 162.

315 Otto Demus, ‘Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection’, *DOP*, 14 (1960): p. 89.

316 Demus, ‘Two Palaeologan’, p. 93. Chirat dates it from the twelfth century; see Chirat, ‘La naissance’, p. 105. According to a monogram at the back of the icon the donor was ‘Queen and great princess Anastasia’ (sixteenth century), who possibly received it as a gift; see Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, *Pamiatniki khristianskogo iskusstva na Afone* (Moscow, 1902), p. 113; Chazal and Bonovas, (eds.), *Le Mont Athos*, p. 156.

317 Iitalo Furlan, *Le icone bizantine a mosaico* (Milano, 1979), pp. 27–28, no 25; Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, *Ikonografija bogomateri* (St Petersburg, 1915), p. 113. For the Hetoimasia of God, see PG 100: col. 1393B.

318 PG 43: col. 488C.

319 Angelike Lymberopoulou, ‘Regional Byzantine Monumental Art from Venetian Crete’, in Angelike Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits (eds.), *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe* (Burlington, Vt. and Farnham, Surrey, 2013), pp. 90–91.

320 Angelike Lymberopoulou, ‘The Painter Angelos and Post-Byzantine Art’, in Carol M. Richardson (ed.), *Locating Renaissance Art* (New Haven, CT and London, 2007), p. 181; Maria Vassilake, ‘A Cretan Icon of Saint George’, *BurM*, 131 (1989): p. 212; Thalia Gouma-Peterson, ‘Manuel and John Phokas and Artistic Personality in Late Byzantine Painting’, *Gesta*, 22 (1983): p. 160; Anastasia Tourta, ‘The Byzantine Heritage in Painting after the Fall of Constantinople’, in Konstantinos S. Staikos (ed.), *From the Incarnation of Logos to the Theosis of Man: Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Icons from Greece* (Athens, 2008), pp. xxvi–xxvii.

321 Maria Vassilake (ed.), *The Painter Angelos and Icon-Painting in Venetian Crete* (Farnham, 2009), p. 348.

322 Drandake, ‘Between Byzantium’, p. 14; Lymberopoulou, ‘The Painter’, pp. 178–181; Maria Vassilakes-Mavrakakes, ‘Ο ζωγράφος Άγγελος Ακοτάντος: το έργο και η διαθήκη του (1436)’, *Thesaurismata*, 18 (1981): p. 294.

323 Dionysios Photopoulos and Aggelos Delevorias, *ΗΕλλάδα του Μουσείου Μπενάκη* (Athens, 1997), p. 274 fig. 464; Manoles Chatzedakes, *ΈλληνεςζωγράφοιμετάτηνΆλωση 1450–1830* (2 vols, Athens, 1998), vol. 1, p. 151; Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou

(ed.), *From Byzantium to El Greco, Greek Frescoes and Icons, Royal Academy of Art, London, 27th March–21st June 1987 (Exhibition Catalogue)* (Athens: and London, 1987), pp. 169, 171.

324 Lymberopoulou, 'The Painter', p. 190; Kalokyres, *Η Θεοτόκος*, pp. 94–95. This icon has been mistakenly attributed to Emmanuel Tzanes, see Acheimastou-Potamianou (ed.), *From Byzantium to El Greco*, p. 169; Manoles Chatzedakes, 'Icon Painting from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century', in Robert Erich Wolf (trans.), *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai* (London, 1968), p. XII, fig. no 95. For Chatzedakes's reconsidered view see Chatzedakes, *Έλληνες*, pp. 151–152, where he mentions Anna with the Theotokos in the Benaki Museum and of Anna with Christ and the Virgin.

325 Bäumer and Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 169; Virginia Anne Bonito, 'The Saint Anne Altar in Sant'Agostino: Restoration and Interpretation', *BurM*, 124 (1982): pp. 275–276; Kleinschmidt, *Die heilige*, p. 101, fig. 75; Nixon, *Mary's Mother*, pp. 18–20, 55–57.

326 An example survives from the Patmos monastery; see Kalokyres, *Η Θεοτόκος*, pp. 85–86, pl. 97 (b).

327 Caroline Bynum Walker, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), p. 80. Margarita Voulgaropoulou, 'Εργαστήρια μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής στην Αδριατική κατά τη διάρκεια του 16ου αιώνα', in Ourania Kaiafa (ed.), *Νέοι ερευνητές: Φιλόλογοι- Ιστορικοί Της Τέχνης,ΠΠρακτικά επιστημονικών συμποσίων 27 Νοεμβρίου 2008 και 6 Νοεμβρίου 2009* (Athens: Ίδρυμα Μωραϊτη, 2011), p. 155.

328 Claudia Bolgia, 'The Original Setting and Historical Context of the Anthropomorphic Trinity of the Museo di Roma at Palazzo Braschi', in Louise Bourdua and Robert Gibbs (eds.), *A Wider Trecento: Studies in 13th- and 14th-Century European Art* (Leiden, 2012), p. 91. The image of St Anna Metterza is found in the fourteenth-century Nestorian church of St George the Exiler in Famagusta, where Christ is placed on his mother's chest and St Anna prays behind Mary, see Michele Bacci, 'Syrian, Palaeologan and Gothic Murals in the "Nestorian" Church of Famagusta', *D.C.A.E.*, 27 (2006): pp. 212–213, fig. 4.

329 Nano Chatzedake, *Από τον Χάνδακα στη Βενετία: Ελληνικές Εικόνες στην Ιταλία – 15ος-16ος αι. Μουσείο Correr, Venetia, 17 Σεπτεμβρίου-30 Οκτωβρίου 1993* (Athens, 1993), p. 41, fig. 5.

330 Ibid., p. 40.

331 Margaret Parker, *The Story of a Story across Cultures: The Case of the 'Doncella Teodor'* (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, NY, 1996), p. 104.

332 Chatzedake, *Από τον Χάνδακα*, p. 40. Olga Gratziou, 'Οι εικόνες στην Κρήτη κατά τη δεύτερη βυζαντινή περίοδο και αργότερα: εκκλησιαστική πολιτική και λαϊκή λατρεία', in Ioannes Vasses and Stephanos Kaklamanis and Marina Loukake (eds.), *Παιδεία και Πολιτισμός στην Κρήτη. Βυζάντιο – Βενετοκρατία. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στον Θεοχάρη Δετοράκη* (Herakleion, 2008), pp. 43–55.

333 Angelike Lymberopoulou, 'Audiences and Markets for Cretan Icons', in Kim W. Woods and Carol M. Richardson and Angelike Lymberopoulou (eds.), *Viewing Renaissance Art* (New Haven and London, 2007), p. 197.

334 'Τῶν ἐπιτόκων γυναίων Πάτερ κηδόμενος, ἐλευθερίαν δίδως'.

335 Nikolaos M. Panagiotakes, *El Greco – the Cretan Years*, Roderick Beaton (ed.) and John C. Davis (trans.) (Farnham, 2009), p. 68.

336 Olga Gratziou, 'Οι εικόνες στην Κρήτη κατά τη δεύτερη βυζαντινή περίοδο και αργότερα: εκκλησιαστική πολιτική και λαϊκή λατρεία', in Ioannes Vasses and Stephanos Kaklamanis and Marina Loukake (eds.), *Παιδεία και Πολιτισμός στην Κρήτη. Βυζάντιο – Βενετοκρατία. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στον Θεοχάρη Δετοράκη* (Herakleion, 2008), pp. 43–55.

337 For the infusion of Christ's apocryphal genealogy in the political ideology of the Serbia and Bulgaria, see Panou, 'Apocryphal Genealogy'.

4 The cult of St Anna in Byzantium

Overview

This book is the first attempt in Byzantine scholarship to study the phenomenon of the cult of St Anna from the sixth to the fifteenth century. It was motivated by the need to enrich (our) knowledge of a female saint who had already been studied in the West but remained virtually unknown in Eastern Christendom. As with every new subject of research, there were plenty of possible ramifications – especially since it concerns the mother of the Virgin Mary – but the reader should be reminded that length restrictions necessitated the selection of certain material for book publication, supplemented by articles that are prompted by this main corpus of material. Overall, *The Cult of St Anna in Byzantium* aims to create a platform for fruitful discussion and an exchange of ideas that will advance Byzantine scholarship.

The reign of Justinian I has been selected as the starting point for this study, because it was during this period that the first church was dedicated to St Anna, in the quarter of the Deuteron in Constantinople.[1] Research into the ideological background to this act of patronage revealed that the location of chapels and churches of St Anna near to water and to other churches dedicated to Mary, such as the Pege, the Hodegetria and the Chalkoprateia, was first conceived of and carried out by Justinian I, influenced by the topography of Jerusalem. His acknowledgment of growing Marian devotion in the Holy Land, as shown in the construction of the Kathisma and Tomb of Mary, was expressed in topographical terms through the 'transfer' of the Church of Mary at the Probatic Pool to Constantinople, and was promoted by the merging of three elements: healing water next to churches, a royal birth and the evolving cult of Mary in Jerusalem. It is only in the topography of Constantinople that we find the linking of St Anna to water, as this never appears in art or written texts, unlike with her daughter (the Fountain of Life). The construction of the church in the Deuteron, together with the reading of Romanos's *kontakion* on the day of its consecration, were part of Justinian's plan to direct the religious affairs of his time; his efforts, however, were not reflected in popular sentiment. The absence of similar initiatives by other emperors in the three centuries that followed challenges the idea that the sixth century marks the beginning of the liturgical celebration of the Virgin's Nativity in Constantinople. Thus, in seeking to determine the earliest Constantinopolitan feast days dedicated to events in the life of Mary, we need to define the purpose of our research. Are we searching for the first isolated celebration of the Nativity of Mary, even if it was not continued,

or for the first instance of a religious practice that clearly persisted over time? As this book deals with the cult of a saint, and a single case of patronage cannot substitute for the popular sentiment which is the basis for the phenomenon of a cult, I deemed it more significant to determine the date that the first feast of St Anna's life was introduced into the church calendar. The written records available to us suggest that this development took place no earlier than the ninth century; thus Constantinople had to endure the emergence of Iconoclasm before Justinian's plans came to fruition.

From the eighth century onwards, new developments emerge in the realm of popular piety. These developments were prompted by the theological implications of Iconoclasm, when the dogma of Christ's Incarnation required the promotion of his human forebears by acknowledging their contribution to the divine soteriological plan. Six centuries after the *Protevangelion of James* was written, Byzantine preachers brought the *Protevangelion* to light and fused homilies with the life and deeds of Anna and Joachim. Under the umbrella of Iconophilia and the importance of Christ's physical progenitors for the *Divine Oikonomia*, homilists formulated the beliefs of each congregation about Mary's parents and boosted the spread of their cult. This promotion was so successful that Anna and Joachim appear as the 'boasts of evangelical teaching', and the *Protevangelion* was even considered to be 'part of Holy Scripture'.[2] This ideological transformation took place through the elaboration of the biological relationship of Anna and Joachim with the Virgin, which in turn realized the divine soteriological plan. The atmosphere in which their cult was developed was so charged with the implications of Iconoclasm that it overcame the contempt felt for apocryphal literature and led to the *Protevangelion*'s narrative of Mary's early life being considered equivalent to Scripture. This detail, which has not been set out in Byzantine studies, renders the cult of St Anna an important example of the processing and manipulating of ideas in Byzantium which served contemporary theological trends. The *Protevangelion* became a weapon in the hands of the Iconophiles, who now overlooked its apocryphal origins and defended its appropriateness for the Eastern Church.

The appreciation of Anna and Joachim in homilies was supported by eighth-century developments in hagiography. In the *Life of St Stephen the Younger* we see for the first time three elements brought together: the association of the name Anna with the defence of Orthodoxy, the protection of children and the cure of infertility. Hagiographical Annas incarnate the characteristics of the apocryphal Anna and the biblical Hanna and create a model according to which an infertile pious female prays in the church for a child.[3] The visual rendering of longing for a child was substantiated by St Anna holding or breastfeeding the Virgin and remained the most popular type of iconic imagery of St Anna throughout the Byzantine period. Non-hagiographical texts, such as Theophanes's *Chronographia*, the *Patria* of Constantinople and the *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy bear witness to the diffusion in later centuries of some of the elements that we find in hagiography from the eighth century onwards (Iconophilia, cure of infertility).[4] Texts mirror not only the connection of old (biblical) ideas to new (apocryphal) figures but also the fact that there are attitudes that do not change over time because of the group

they target. According to these attitudes, sterility does not conform to the ideals of imperial ideology, so Byzantine empresses are distanced from women in hagiography through their proven ability to procreate. The empress, who is unaffected by infertility, is in no way an archaic model perpetuated in time but the textual rendering of the gender-based side of imperial patronage.

Narratives on relics confirm the rising cult of St Anna in Byzantium from the eighth century onwards. Her relics were located in Constantinople before 1204, which proved the reliability of the *Patria*, and in France in the thirteenth century, although questionable evidence suggests their presence in Rome in the eighth century. During the sixteenth century a piece of her body was kept in the Pammakaristos church and in the seventeenth century her left foot was seen in Athos.[5] The numerous martyria of Annas in fourteenth-century Constantinople recorded by pilgrims and travellers and the saints with that name in the tenth-century Constantinopolitan *Synaxarion* reveal that St Anna's cult spread widely in Byzantium over these four centuries. We do not know whether these various Annas were also able to cure barrenness or other gynaecological problems. What we know for sure is that the translation of St Anna's relics coincided chronologically with the appearance of homilies inspired by the *Protevangelion* and with the beginning one century later of the official celebration of the events described there. On the one hand, by the fourteenth century the relics of Anna were not only venerated in Byzantium, but they were also offered as precious gifts, as the Meteora icon demonstrates. On the other hand, the lack of information regarding Joachim's relics before the tenth century (a reliquary from Athos) may well be seen as a belated acknowledgement that as the counterpart of Anna he too deserved at least a rudimentary veneration of his physical remains. And despite the familial bond between St Anna and Mary, their relics are never reported to have been kept together, even in the case of Mary's girdle, which facilitated pregnancy.

The study of art offers a deeper understanding of every society that produces images. St Anna's earliest imagery in Rome, Paros and Sudan demonstrates that above all her imagery was a visual expression of motherhood, the core element of her story in the *Protevangelion*. Nevertheless, the number of non-maternal portraits of her belies the sole dependence of her iconography on the apocryphal narrative allowing social and theological ramifications to create new, extra-Protevangelian associations: Anna is shown either as a healer, a defender of the Christian faith, a supplicant on behalf of the dead or a supplicant to Mary. This is because, although the cult of Anna was largely the response of the Iconophiles to the dogmatic demands of Iconoclasm, it was also largely imbued with contemporary social needs.

Joachim is rarely depicted without Anna. His theological significance in the Orthodox Church is associated with Christ's Incarnation; as a forefather of Christ he earned a place in art as one of the prophets. Although depictions of him are mostly influenced by his quality as a predecessor of Christ, he is not presented as a tender father, either in art or in homilies, which shows the gender-based view the Byzantines held of tenderness. This argument *ex silentio* confirms that his cult was also formed within the framework of social expediency. But in contrast to his

wife, no healing properties have been attributed to him and therefore he has not been placed with healer saints.[6] It could be that since according to the *Protevangelion* Anna was the one afflicted with the 'disease' of barrenness and was cured only with the help of God, the Byzantines regarded Anna as the only one able to resolve health-related problems.

Still in the realm of art production, the book touches upon the relationship between the parents of the Virgin and donors. The first contact between a donor and the saint is found not in an icon, which, as a medium itself is based on the *a priori* bond between saint and donor, but in monumental art (the crypt of St Christine in Salento). However, the boundary between iconic and cyclic imagery is blurry in the Salento panel, as the epigraph tells us it was executed out of personal devotion. Personal devotion could also be expressed through a more articulate relationship between narrative cycle and iconic imagery. The decorative programs of Ethiopia and Chrysapha, both of which date from the thirteenth century, differ, as in these two cases the narrative cycle and the iconic imagery are unified for the sake of the donor, who popularizes in this way the act of patronage.[7] A century earlier, the Church of the Taxiarches in Andros unites all these elements with the location of Anna and Joachim under the Entry of Mary.[8] The fact that we know the donors in the churches in Andros and Chrysapha and the fact that we know there is a votive inscription in the church of Mary in Ethiopia suggest that when Anna and Joachim are placed in the proximity of an Entry scene, it is a donor request we should look for, otherwise they aim to intensify the message of the scene (e.g. Incarnation in the Nativity of Mary). The Entry of the Virgin depicts the offering to God which the donors made upon the completion of the request, or else beforehand, in order to secure the benevolence of God.

In contrast, in Kızıl Çukur an iconic image intrudes into the narrative cycle and emphasizes the patroness's pregnancy, which is protected by the saint to whom the chapel is dedicated.[9] This visual call for protection is emphasized in the realistic rendering of St Anna's pregnancy in a lay environment, to which women who could afford to have maids could relate. Realism is a way of communicating personalized wishes, thus it becomes an alternative form of votive offering, in order to secure the protection of the saint. Realistic rendering is also noted in another representation of Anna. In Crete, the personalized facial characteristics (like a nose) of lay women or Anna's white head covering in Mistras worn by aristocrats eliminate the distance between sanctity and members of the local community seeking the benevolence of the saint. Imitation was perceived as an appeal for protection, which possibly had greater resonance in the minds of donors than we realize today. In icon production, there are a number of icons of St Anna where the association with donors is shown either in iconography (Sinai), inscriptions (Athos) or epigrams (Meteora).[10] And of course, Anna did not escape the merging of the Byzantine and the Italian style both in monumental painting (Lambini) and in icons (Angelos),[11] which together depict the perpetuation of religious trends as we move towards the end of the fifteenth century. These trends are the outcome of an intermingling between the two divisions of Christianity in Crete, where, for example, Catholic donors living in Herakleion commissioned churches in the

countryside among the Orthodox ones. This monumental coexistence was transferred to minor arts, and to icons of Italo-Byzantine style in particular.

Lafontaine-Dosogne draws parallels between the cults of St Anna and Mary, in the sense that St Anna's cult emerged for the same reason as Mary's, to defend the duality of Christ's nature,[12] and because both cults spread after the Council of Ephesus in 431.[13] St Anna's cult, in the form of a broadly accepted and catholically practised veneration in Byzantium cannot be dated immediately after the fifth century, but only after the eighth century, when it was anchored to Christology and was facilitated by her genealogical connection to the Virgin. St Anna's closeness to the Virgin and her genealogical relationship with Christ made her special among the other female saints. She personified the importance of genealogical history in Eastern Christianity as it confirmed the significance of Christ's non-canonical forebears.

Overall, the cult of St Anna was born out of theological need, and quickly spread into Byzantine society as it touched upon the core of its existence, the family. This study demonstrates that, although St Anna has been a neglected figure in Byzantine studies, the examination of the formation, establishment and promotion of her cult offered a fresh insight into the way saints were treated in Byzantium. It is also an example of how social norms and theological developments shape the cult of saints. Therefore, it is safe to argue that the study of saints is also the history of social and theological developments in Byzantium.

Notes

1 See pages 43–44 in this volume.
2 See page 217 in this volume.
3 See pages 122–125 in this volume.
4 See pages 118–122 in this volume.
5 See pages 97–101 in this volume.
6 Anna is repeatedly placed between healer saints; see examples on pp. 206–207, 219, 227, 230–231 in this volume.
7 See pages 211–212 (Ethiopia) and 214–215 (Chrysapha) in this volume.
8 See p. 220 in this volume.
9 See pp. 196–201 in this volume.
10 See respectively pp. 102–103(Meteora), 241–244 (Sinai), 245 (Athos, Vatopedi).
11 See pages 234–235, 246–247 in this volume.
12 Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, p. 24.
13 Bäumer and Scheffczyk (eds.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1, p. 155.

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